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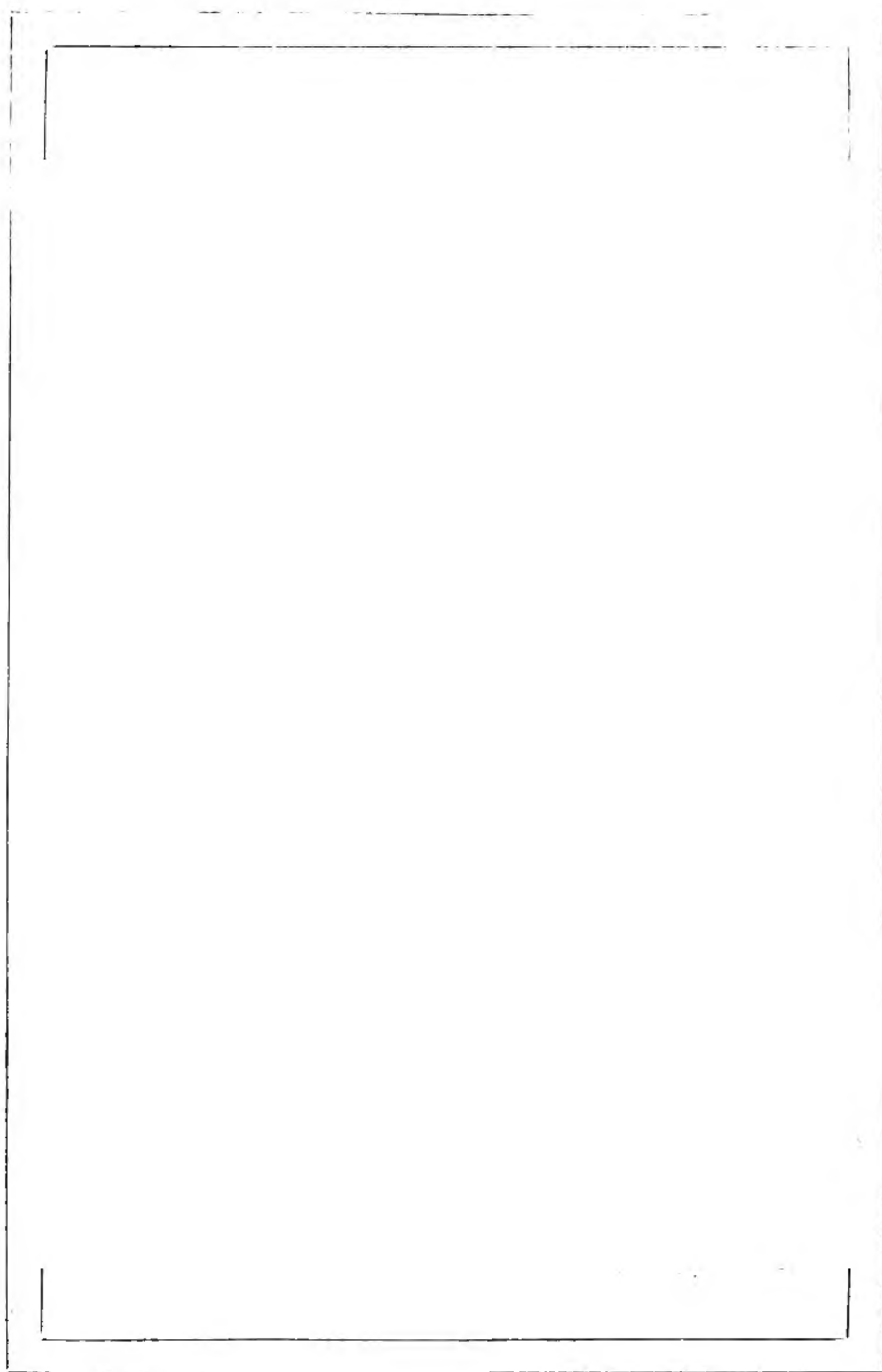
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HISTORY
OF
NAPOLÉON.

BY
GEORGE MOIR BUSSEY.

ILLUSTRATED BY
HORACE VERNET.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

LONDON:
JOSEPH THOMAS, FINCH LANE, CORNHILL.
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TO THE
RIGHT HONBLE LORD HOLLAND,
CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER,
* * *
WHOSE NAME WILL ALWAYS BE ASSOCIATED WITH
THAT OF
NAPOLEON,
FOR
THE NOBLE EXPRESSION OF HIS SYMPATHY
WITH
THE GENIUS AND MISFORTUNES OF THE FALLEN EMPEROR,
DURING
THE LONG PERIOD OF HIS EXILE,
THESE VOLUMES
ARE,
WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S KIND PERMISSION,
RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,
BY
THE AUTHOR.



P R E F A C E.

IN COMPILING a new History of Napoleon, it has been the object of the Author to relate, as clearly, concisely, and impartially as possible, the great events which his work necessarily embraces. The previous Biographers of the French Emperor have, for the most part, been men who were themselves partisans or actors in the long struggle produced by the French Revolution, and therefore, though perhaps unconsciously, biassed by feelings excited by passing occurrences. Hence the character of Napoleon has been exalted or depreciated, and his actions magnified or disparaged, according to the political or personal views of the writers who have recorded his achievements.

The principal aim of the writer of the present work has been to review the Life of Napoleon as a whole; not only in its chivalric details, but as to its influence upon the state and prospects of Europe, and the progress of civilization throughout the world. The Author was not old enough at the termination of the extraordinary career of the Emperor, to participate in any of the various feelings which then agitated all classes of society; and he is still too little of a partisan to be influenced by a consideration of the mere persons engaged

PREFACE.

in opposition to, or in support of, the politics pursued during that eventful period. He has been only solicitous, therefore, to render strict justice to all that his duty required him to narrate. Nothing, that was deemed necessary to a faithful portraiture of the man and his actions, has been wilfully omitted, exaggerated, or misrepresented; but praise or blame, when either has been thought requisite, has been distributed according as the facts themselves seemed to demand.

The authorities which have been consulted for the work are chiefly those which have been, from time to time, presented to the Public, by statesmen, officers, and others, who had served under Napoleon: persons of all shades of opinion, but whose veracity is generally to be relied upon (if for no other reason), because they speak of things which were seldom matters of confidence, or confined to the knowledge of a few. Without trusting, however, implicitly to these, their statements, whenever it could be done, have been carefully compared with those of the best English authors on the subject, and nothing admitted but what at least had the semblance of perfect authenticity. The accounts contained in the majority of publications concerning Napoleon, which appeared previously to 1821, differ so materially from those of later date, and from each other, that their authority has been almost wholly rejected, as unworthy of credit.

It has been considered advisable to prefix to this History, a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the great French Revolution; without some knowledge of which, it would be scarcely possible rightly to understand the state of France, and the condition of its people, when Napoleon appeared upon the scene to influence, and eventually to control, the destinies of the Nation. This, however, from the space to

PREFACE.

which it has been necessarily limited, is not intended for a full or perfect history of that perilous change: it forms simply a requisite introduction to the Life of him who has been called its "Child and Champion." The object has been to give a fair, general view of the occurrences as they happened, without entering into elaborate detail, or attempting to draw thence philosophical deductions: the Author has endeavoured merely to relate the circumstances and incidents of the period, so that they may be comprehensible without imposing on the reader a necessity for reference to other volumes.

Of the manner in which he has executed his task, it remains for the Public to decide: the writer feels it his duty, however, to avail himself of this opportunity to tender his thanks for the many flattering notices with which the Work in its progress has been honoured; and to which, although it may seem like vanity to allude, it could be but affectation to pretend to feel indifferent.

LONDON, *January*, 1840.

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OF
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

**CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION—ASSEMBLY OF NOTABLES—STATES GENERAL—
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY—THE BASTILLE—CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY—DECLA-
RATION OF RIGHTS—FLIGHT AND ARREST OF THE KING—LEGISLATIVE
ASSEMBLY—COALITION AGAINST FRANCE—THE CONVENTION—EXECUTION
OF LOUIS XVI.—INSURRECTIONS—THE QUEEN GUILLOTINED—CHRISTI-
ANITY ABOLISHED—REIGN OF TERROR—FALL OF ROBESPIERRE—EFFECTS
OF THE REVOLUTION. 1787—1794.**

LOUIS XV., during whose reign an approaching revolution in France became perceptible, died in the year 1774. He was a weak and effeminate man; lavish in expenditure, gay, gallant, good-humoured, and indolent; and entirely governed, as to political matters, by his favourite courtiers and mistresses. The people were utterly neglected during this reign, or were regarded only as the source from which the Court obtained its means of vicious indulgence. Civilization seemed to have retrograded throughout the country. The luxury of Louis XV. and his minions could only be

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exceeded by the poverty and general debasement of the humbler classes of society. There was nothing to keep alive the spirit of endurance among the populace. The reign of Louis XIV. had, perhaps, been equally burdensome to his subjects, but the *Grand Monarque* had shed the light of glory over his kingdom, and thus made his people participators of the costly splendour with which he surrounded his crown. To be a Great Nation, the first in the world for arts and arms, the arbiters of Europe, Frenchmen had forgotten their individual grievances and privations, submitted to hard fare and harsh restrictions, and bowed to the stern despotism of absolute dominion without a murmur. But the extravagance and misrule of the Ministry of Louis XV. was sordid and selfish, and had been attended with national defeat and disgrace. The people had, therefore, become disgusted, and began to look at the Government as the cause of the misery in which all, save the princes, nobility, and clergy—the privileged classes of the realm—were involved. The point of positive resistance, indeed, had been reached; and to those who then looked at the internal condition and aspect of France, reflectively, a convulsion seemed inevitable.

All that was base and vile of the feudal system, and which in every state where practical freedom was known had occasioned the overthrow of that system, was in full vigour in the French provinces. "The age of chivalry," as far as it consisted of courtesy, generosity, and honour in the nobility, and of enthusiastic attachment on the part of the serf to his chieftain, had passed away; but the arrogant assumption and arbitrary laws and impositions, which it had established on the one hand, and the insecurity and degradation of vassalage on the other, remained to rankle into hostility, and eventually, as a natural consequence, to produce a war of classes.

Arthur Young, in his 'Travels in France,' just previously to the breaking out of the Revolution, has given a striking picture of the grossly unjust exactions to which the French people were subjected. The enrolments for the militia, he informs us, were a dreadful scourge upon the peasantry; and as married men were exempted from them, premature marriages and superabundant population followed as matters of course, and permanently increased the general distress. The system established for making and repairing public roads was

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iniquitously oppressive, and annually occasioned the ruin of many hundreds of farmers. More than three hundred were reduced to beggary in filling up one valley in Lorraine. From these burdens the nobility, which embraced about eighty thousand families, and the clergy, who were excessively numerous and enjoyed great portion of the wealth of the country, were wholly exempt.

The penal code, which was rigorously enforced for the infractions of the revenue laws, inflicted punishments utterly disproportioned to the offences committed. It has been computed that there were annually consigned to prison or the galleys upwards of three thousand four hundred persons,—men, women, and children,—for smuggling salt. The occupiers of land were oppressed by the creation of *Capitaineries*, or paramount lordships of districts, in favour of princes of the blood, and others, who by money or influence could procure them from the King. By these devices, the absolute property in all game, within the seigniory, was vested in the holders of grants, extending even to manors long before presented to private individuals. The extreme hardship connected with this privilege can only be appreciated by a knowledge that the game comprised whole droves of wild boars, and herds of deer, which wandered at will over the country, destroying the crops and fences of the farmer and peasant, and involving those who presumed to kill or injure them, in order to save or procure the means of subsistence, in condemnation to the galleys. In four parishes of the district of Montceau, the mischief is said to have amounted to upwards of a hundred and eighty-four thousand francs (nearly seven thousand seven hundred pounds) per annum. Among the numerous edicts for the perservation of game, there were several which prohibited weeding and hoeing, lest these operations should disturb the young partridges; steeping the seed, lest it should injure the game; the use of certain kinds of manure, lest the flavour of the birds should be deteriorated; and the mowing of hay before a certain fixed date, which, in some seasons, occasioned the destruction of the crops. The exercise of this tyranny extended over four hundred leagues of territory; and was so rigorous, that many persons abandoned the cultivation of the land rather than submit to it, and large tracts of fertile country, consequently, lay waste and desolate.

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The despotism of the lesser feudal lords and of the clergy was nearly as oppressive as that of the Crown and the high nobility. The manorial courts, purporting to be established for the dispensation of justice, seemed to have been framed for the encouragement and protection of fraud and chicanery, by interminable processes and appeals, involving expenses and delays, which rendered submission to wrong preferable to litigation. The judges were absolutely dependent upon those by whom they were appointed; and in most instances owed their situations to their servility, without the least regard to their qualifications or integrity. Decrees and judgments were, therefore, sold to the highest bidder, almost undisguisedly.

The tenant and vassal were compelled to grind their corn at the seigneur's mill, to press their grapes and apples at his press, and to bake their bread in his oven. Under these regulations, heavy tolls were exacted, and not only was the bread frequently spoiled, but the cider and wine also; the latter especially, since in Champagne those grapes which, pressed immediately, would have made white wine, by waiting for the press were damaged, so that red wine only could be procured from them. The charges upon the occupiers of land, partook of the same odious and tyrannical character. There were heavy contract rents, and arbitrary rents for protection, roadway, right of common, and for windows and fires. On every change of property, in direct as well as collateral descent, disproportionate fines were payable; and on alienation, the fines amounted to an eighth and even a sixth penny. The barbarous and detestable law of *mercheta* remained in operation, and was a fertile source of vexatious exaction. In every way the people were depressed, and their feelings outraged by the most cruel and capricious customs and observances, instituted solely for the pleasure or profit of the princes or nobility.

Nor was this all. There had arisen in the kingdom two or three classes of persons, upon whom the enactments which had arisen out of the feudal system could operate but feebly,—the lawyers, who had chiefly sprung from among the wealthier commoners, literary men, merchants, tradesmen, manufacturers, and mechanics;—especially in the large towns which were in possession of municipal privileges. For the torture of these, the supreme laws had made express provision. The King had the power to grant *lettres-de-cachet* to any

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extent against whomsoever he thought proper; a prerogative under which the victims, without being informed of the nature of their crimes, were immured in the Bastille or other state prisons for indefinite periods, without the right to demand trial or liberation. This also was made a source of revenue to the Crown and the parasites of the Court. The *lettres* were frequently sold, sometimes with blanks, that the purchasers might insert the names of those whom they wished to destroy; and, occasionally, they were granted at the solicitation of a mistress or favourite against individuals who could pay well for Court intercession on their behalf. "In the mild reign of Louis XV. alone," says Mr. Justice Blackstone, "there were no less than fifteen thousand *lettres-de-cachet* issued."

The local courts of appeal were other objects of deep and settled hatred. These were the Provincial Parliaments, the conduct of a majority of whose members was profligate in the extreme. Upon almost every cause that came before them, interest was openly made with the judges by bribery or corruption of a still blacker dye, which paralysed while it outraged every sense of honesty, morality, and virtue. It was customary with the members to sit in judgment concerning the disposal of private property to which themselves were claimants. These parliaments also possessed the singular privilege of framing decrees, which in their several jurisdictions had the force of laws; and infringements of which, being punishable by their makers, were treated with the greatest severity. From this privilege, and another, by which several of the provinces were permitted to compound for their contribution to the national revenues, and to impose taxes upon the inhabitants at pleasure, arose a diversity in the mode and rate of taxation; a means by which some classes were enabled to procure exemption from payment, while others had great difficulty to subsist upon the small resources they were suffered to retain. What the law encouraged in one district was deemed highly criminal in another. The duties upon merchandise, and even the weights and measures, differed in the different provinces; and the exchange of their several productions was in many cases prohibited under heavy penalties; so that neither corn nor wine could circulate freely throughout France: but while one part of the kingdom was suffering the horrors of absolute famine, the rest might superabound

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in every necessary of life. In fact, the law was a convenient instrument in the hands of the rich against the poor. "He who went into a court of justice," says Mr. Hazlitt," without friends or money, to seek for redress, however gross his provocation, was sure to come out of it with insult added to the original injury, and with a sickening and humiliating consciousness of his own helpless and degraded situation." The Parliament of Paris alone was free from the taint of slavish submission to the Court, and from known venality and flagrant injustice. Under such a state of things, rectitude of mind, manly confidence, and a bold frankness of character and conduct, were necessarily superseded by cunning, deceit, servility, and want of public spirit and principle. And such was the condition of the French people when Louis XVI., at the age of twenty, ascended the throne.

The elements of combustion were everywhere diffused, and the printing press had been quietly doing its work to ignite them. The eloquent and profound Montesquieu had explained to his numerous readers the general rights of the people and the principles of good government, without, however, attempting to shew how his observations could be applied to the reform of the existing institutions of his country. Had he ventured, indeed, upon such a commentary, he would have been certain of committal for life to a gloomy cell or dungeon of the Bastille. Unsansctioned discussions on religion, or practical politics, were punished with the utmost rigour. Rousseau, the Abbé Raynal, and Diderot, in all their writings addressed themselves to the heart as well as to the understanding, and depicted Liberty as arrayed in all the beauty and glory of immortality, while despotism and slavery were portrayed as gaunt and hideous fiends, preying upon and devouring each other; but having excited an enthusiastic love and reverence for freedom—civil and religious—they left their readers unassisted to draw their own conclusions as to the best means of obtaining and preserving the object of their desires. So also the works of Turgot, Du Quesnay, and others, abounded in moral and philosophical maxims of government, but they were all defective, inasmuch as they had no practical direction or aim. Voltaire, on the other hand, sought merely to destroy what he disapproved, without bestowing more than a cursory thought upon the necessity of reconstruction. He does not appear to have loved

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freedom, nor to have hated despotism; but his keen perception of the sublime and the ridiculous made him the occasional panegyrist and satirist of each. The superstitions of priestcraft and the harsh restrictions of arbitrary power, by imposing fetters upon the exercise of his own extraordinary genius, interfered with his self-love and vanity, and thus incurred his scorn and kindled his passion for vengeance. Under his shrewd and subtle criticisms, folly, in whatever disguise, was stripped and exposed to laughter and contempt. His wit, learning, and sound knowledge of mankind, lent to his speculations, often on the most abstruse subjects, a charm which made them popular even with those against whom his bitterest attacks were directed. Thus, while merely seeking to gratify his own capricious mind, and to increase the measure of applause which was on all sides freely awarded to him, he was gradually preparing the public mind for a great change in the very institutions, which, as a man of aristocratical predilections, apart from literature, he would have been among the last in desiring to overthrow.

By the writers above enumerated, and many others of less note, all the abuses and grievances which oppressed the nation had been indirectly pointed out, ridiculed, and assailed with indignant reprehension, for many years before the shock of the Revolution shewed that the French people had not been inattentive to their teachers. The public opinion which had been thus created, however, was visionary and wild, without applicability to the circumstances on which it was intended to bear, or indeed a definite form or object. Philosophical speculations, of men who reasoned from abstract principles, abounded; but knowledge and experience, which alone could give congruity to the mass of floating materials, were entirely wanting. It required a master spirit to go before and guide and govern the changes that were inevitable, in order that reformation might be prevented from degenerating into positive and ruthless destruction. Louis XVI., unhappily, had neither the requisite sternness nor talent to turn the crisis to advantage. He was a man of mild and peaceful character, of amiable disposition, pure manners, and inexpensive habits; but he was altogether deficient in the strength of will necessary to keep in check contending factions, in a struggle to effect an organic revolution in the State.

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In 1778, the French Government, hoping thereby to humble the power of England, which it had always regarded with jealousy, was induced to recognise the then recently declared independence of the United States of America, and to conclude a treaty of alliance and commerce with that Republic. This was a false step throughout. A numerous army was sent across the Atlantic to learn, not only the doctrines but the practice of rights and liberties more extensive and absolute than the boldest of the French philosophers had ventured to contend for. The principle that resistance to royal authority might be justified, was thus sanctioned by the Crown itself; and a flood of light suddenly let in upon the people, which could not have been produced by mere argument in a century. The return and disbanding of the troops, at the close of the war, spread over France a new kind of knowledge, and added tenfold strength to the general discontent which already prevailed.

From this period, the progress of the impending Revolution was rapid. The extravagance and maladministration of the preceding reign had ruined the resources of the country. The revenue was unequal to the expenditure; the treasury was empty, and public credit destroyed. The Government had long subsisted, from year to year, upon loans contracted at ruinous interest, and secured by leases of the treasury receipts to farmers-general. The existing debt amounted to one thousand six hundred and forty-six millions of francs (upwards of sixty-eight millions and a half in pounds sterling). This source exhausted, there remained no way of providing for the public service but by the imposition of new taxes, which could not be legally done without the sanction of the Provincial Parliaments. The annual deficiency was a hundred and forty millions of francs (more than five millions eight hundred thousand pounds). It was well known to the Ministry, that the Parliaments regarded the derangement of the finances as being solely attributable to the Government; instead therefore of applying directly to these bodies, an expedient was resorted to in order to approach them through a more popular intermediate agent. A meeting was convened of the chief men from the several provinces, under the title of "Assembly of Notables," for the purpose of recommending certain edicts for taxation to the Parliaments, or to act themselves as a parliament. No similar assem-

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bly had been called since 1617. The members were nominated by the King, and amounted to a hundred and forty: but so far had the spirit of resistance become general, that the assembly proved nearly as refractory as the Parliaments could have been; and, instead of doing what it was desired, brought charges of malversation against the Ministers, and recommended that the national expenditure should be accommodated to the revenue, and not the revenue to the expenditure. The Marquis de la Fayette, who had held a command in the American army, went so far, indeed, as to propose the abolition of *lettres-de-cachet*, the Bastille, and the state prisons throughout France, as a means of lessening the public expenses; and declared that new taxes could only be imposed by the States General—a body which had lain in abeyance since 1614. Eventually, after refusing to act as a parliament itself, the Assembly of Notables agreed to recommend two edicts—one for the creation of a stamp duty, and the other of a territorial or land tax, which it was estimated would together produce enough to meet the annual deficit,—to be registered by the local Parliaments.

The Assembly having dissolved itself, the edicts were sent to be enrolled by the Parliament of Paris, which, however, instead of complying, demanded a statement of the finances; and on this being refused, both the edicts were indignantly rejected, and the Ministry were informed that, with such a revenue as the nation then supported, taxes ought not to be mentioned by the Government except for the purpose of being reduced. Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, who was Prime Minister at the time, advised that recourse should be had to a *Bed of Justice*, an obsolete device for compelling obedience to the will of the Monarch. Accordingly, on the 6th of August, 1787, the Parliament was summoned to Versailles, and the edicts were there registered by order of the King; who, however, in order to appease the popular rage which it was foreseen this measure would call forth, declared in the same sitting that Protestants were thenceforth restored to all the rights of citizenship, that an annual statement of the finances should be published, and that the States General should be convoked before the expiration of five years.

Next day, the Parliament returned to Paris, declared the compulsory registry to be illegal, and ordered it to be erased; protesting, at the

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same time, that the edicts of the King, even though they should be voluntarily registered by the Parliaments, were insufficient to impose permanent taxes upon the people, for which the States General alone were declared to be competent. For this bold assertion of popular rights, the Parliament of Paris was exiled to Troyes; but the other Parliaments had caught the tone of that of the Capital, and not only refused to register the edicts, but announced their intention of punishing any person who should attempt to collect taxes under them. The Court was now fairly in collision with the Nation; which almost unanimously supported the pretensions of the Parliaments. Seeing, therefore, that banishment was not likely to effect the desired object, and that the absence of the highest judicial court in the kingdom was productive of much evil, the decree of exile was recalled, and the Parliament returned to Paris. The edicts were again tendered by the King in person, and again unanimously rejected.

The Ministry now conceived a project for defeating the Parliaments, by depriving them of all save their judicial functions, and of vesting the powers of government in a body to be chosen by the King, and called the *Cour Plénière*, or Supreme Court. To this court the King conceded his asserted right of imposing taxes; and granted authority to frame a new code of criminal laws, and to establish new forms of legal proceedings. The Edict for the formation of the *Cour Plénière*, was at once thrown out by the Parliament of Paris, which denied that there existed, anywhere but in the States General, a power to alter the form of government. The Duke of Orleans, and MM. Freteau and Sabatier, judges of the Supreme Court, were exiled for their strong animadversions on the conduct of the King and the Ministry on this occasion; and the Parliament, refusing to obey a decree for its prorogation, was forcibly expelled by the military, and several of its principal members imprisoned. These arbitrary acts effectually roused the spirit of the whole nation. Some of the most influential of those who had been nominated members of the *Cour Plénière* refused to accept their appointments. The nobles, the clergy, the commons, all protested against the new court, and demanded the immediate convocation of the States General. Partial insurrections broke out in Dauphiny, Britany, Provence, Flanders, Languedoc, and Berne. The Ministry was the necessary sacrifice to popular clamour and fury.

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Necker, an able financier, who had previously held office, and given general satisfaction, was substituted for Brienne, the Cour Plénière was abolished, the Parliaments re-established, and the promise of the King given that the States General should be called together for May, 1789.

A question now arose as to the mode of convening the States. A hundred and seventy years had elapsed since their last meeting, and times and circumstances had so materially changed during that period, that what might have been suitable at its commencement, was not at all adapted to the present age; and even in remote times the number and proportion of the nobles, clergy, and commons, of whom the States General were composed, had not always been the same. The majority of examples were in favour of the privileged classes; but the increased consequence and intelligence of the people demanded some concession in their favour. Necker was desirous of supporting the middle classes against the pretensions of the nobility and clergy, who had united with the Parliaments,—which consisted of a minor aristocracy,—in a struggle to diminish the authority of the Crown, and keep the powers of government in their own hands. “Each order,” says M. Mignet, “sought to maintain a contest for power, and not for the public good. The Noblesse had joined the *Tiers-état* against the Government, but not in behalf of the people.” In order to avoid the responsibility of deciding upon so important a question, the Ministry again convened the Assembly of Notables, which merely recommended, that the example of 1614, when the number of representatives from each order was equal, should be followed. This decision, however, raised a general outcry throughout the country. The press, which amid the recent confusion, had assumed a degree of freedom totally unknown in France at any former time, sent forth the most violent denunciations against the Notables, who, being for the most part members of the privileged classes, were said to be interested in preventing the people from being fairly represented. France was inundated with pamphlets and personal satires, in which every branch of political enquiry, and the motives of men of all parties, were discussed with a boldness which seems, by alarming, to have entirely paralysed the Government. Among the works which produced the greatest effect, were that of the Abbé Sieyès, entitled,

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‘What is the Third Estate?’ and that of D’Entraigue’s, on the ‘Constitution of the States General.’

Necker, who was undoubtedly a man of good intentions, thought it better to yield to the nine-tenths of the French population, of which the Third Estate was said to consist, than to the aristocratical minority; which was alike opposed to the prerogatives of the Crown and to the rights of the humbler classes. He advised, therefore, that the number of deputies from the Third Estate to the States General should be equal to the number from the other two orders united; and this being adopted by the Council, conformable letters of convocation were issued for assembling the representatives of the nation. The elections were conducted peaceably, and with scarcely a contest. The suffrage was almost universal, and the qualification for Deputies so low, that the necessary representation of property seems to have been entirely overlooked. The majority of members chosen by the Nobles and Clergy were men devoted to the interests of their respective orders; but among them were a sufficient number of popular men to give animation to a debate, and to prevent their decisions from obtaining the weight usually attached to unanimity of sentiment. The Deputies of the Third Estate embraced a great number of the most talented persons in the kingdom; but, with few exceptions, they were mere theorists and speculators, to whom the business and details of government were new, and whose minds were preoccupied with doctrines derived from sedulous study of the Constitutions of the ancient Republics—doctrines as little adapted to the advanced intelligence, and the commercial and other institutions which had arisen before the close of the eighteenth century, as were those feudal customs which the people were intent upon abolishing. The number of members returned was twelve hundred: six hundred for the Commons, and three hundred for each of the other orders.

The States General met at Versailles, on the 5th of May, 1789. “Amid the pageantry,” says Sir Walter Scott, “with which the ceremonial of the first sitting abounded, it was clearly visible that the wishes, hopes, and interest of the public were exclusively fixed upon the representatives of the Commons. The rich garments and floating plumes of the nobility, and the reverend robes of the clergy, had nothing to fix the public eye; their sounding and emphatic titles had

nothing to win the ear: the recollection of the high feats of the one, and long sanctified characters of the other order, had nothing to influence the mind of the spectators. All eyes were turned on the Members of the Third Estate, in plebeian and humble costume, corresponding to their lowly birth and occupation, as the only portion of the assembly from which the lights and the counsels which the time demanded were looked for."

The first question that arose, was concerning the mode of taking the votes—whether it should be by head, or by order. A majority of the Nobles claimed the privilege of voting as a separate body, and of thus giving their assent or negative to all measures discussed; and many of the higher class of the Clergy contended for the same right on behalf of their order. To this arrangement the Third Estate absolutely refused to conform; and when the Nobles and Clergy withdrew to separate chambers to verify their powers, the popular Deputies declared their resolution to remain inactive till the whole assembly was united. After much altercation, which occupied several weeks, the King offered his mediation, but without effect; and after inviting the Nobles and Clergy, for the last time, to join them, the Commons proceeded, on the 17th of June, on the motion of Sieyès, to declare that they were "The Representatives of the Nation," and that the two aristocratical orders were henceforth to be considered as deputies of corporations only, possessing no deliberative voice except as individual members of the *National Assembly*.

Upon the passing of this motion, many of the Clergy and a few of the Nobles withdrew from their separate chambers and joined the Commons; and the high nobility, seeing that no resource was left them but to make common cause with the Crown, which they had previously sought to degrade, adopted the Count d'Artois as their leader, and engaged the King in an attempt to overthrow the Assembly. The measures required to accomplish this, were concerted during an excursion made by the King, Queen, and Princes of the blood to Marly; and the change of royal policy was speedily announced by closing the halls of the National Assembly, and surrounding it with troops. Refused admittance to their proper meeting-place, the Deputies, on the morning of the 20th of June, repaired in a body to a Tennis Court, and there, in the presence of an applauding crowd,

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and a number of soldiers who had followed them, with heads uncovered and upraised hands, all, except one man, took an oath not to separate till they had given to France a Constitution. On Monday the 22nd, the Princes took possession of the Tennis Court, in order to exclude the Assembly; but the latter transferred its meeting to the church of St. Louis, and was there joined by the Archbishops of Bourdeaux and Vienne, at the head of a hundred and forty-seven deputies of the clergy. On the 23rd, the hall of the States was reopened, and the King attended the sitting in person. A numerous guard was drawn round the place, and the public were carefully excluded.

The Sovereign addressed the Deputies in a tone of authority, condemned their conduct as illegal, rescinded their resolutions, laid down a course of proceeding for their adoption, threatened to dissolve them if they ventured to offer any further opposition, and commanded the clergy and nobles, who were present, to withdraw, and the Deputies to adjourn their sitting. The Commons, however, remained firm in their seats; and being shortly afterwards reminded, by the grand master of the ceremonies, of the King's order to separate, "Go," exclaimed Mirabeau, "tell your master, that we are here by order of the people, and that we shall not retire, but at the point of the bayonet." Upon the motion of Camus, the Assembly confirmed all its previous acts; and, at the instance of Mirabeau, decreed the inviolability of its members, and declared its resolution to adhere faithfully to the oath of the Tennis Court. That night the King went to Trianon; but, says Marmontel, "though a vast concourse from Paris and the neighbourhood had assembled at Versailles to learn the result of the day's proceedings, the customary shout of 'Vive le Roi,' no longer greeted the royal departure." Next day the National Assembly was augmented by the accession of a hundred and sixty additional deputies of the clergy, including the celebrated Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun; and forty-seven of the noblesse, led by the Duke of Orleans. At this time, also, addresses began to pour in from the cities and provinces throughout the kingdom, thanking the Assembly for its courageous firmness, and intimating that, in case of danger, the deputies might rely on the support of twenty-five millions of Frenchmen, whose future happiness was confided to them.

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At these demonstrations, the Court became alarmed, and the King personally solicited several of the most influential of the nobility to waive their privileges and unite with the Third Estate. The Count d'Artois, indeed, openly declared that unless this recommendation were complied with, the life of the King would be endangered. Accordingly, on the 27th of June, the three orders met, for the first time, in one body; and the gloom of the populace seemed to have been suddenly converted into universal joy. The crowd surrounded the palace and demanded to see the King, whose appearance at a balcony with his beautiful Queen and infant son, was greeted with long and loud acclamations. Versailles was illuminated, and confidence seemed to be restored between the Sovereign, the Nobles, and the People.

From the general agitation which had been produced by the events above related, much licence had arisen among the people; and a spirit of insubordination began to be manifested among the French soldiery, who publicly professed to sympathize with the people in their struggle for freedom. Under the pretext of repressing whatever might tend to violence, a large body of troops, consisting chiefly of foreign regiments in the pay of France, was drawn around the capital. Versailles exhibited the appearance of a camp. The hall of the National Assembly was surrounded by soldiers, and access was forbidden to all but the members; and Paris seemed in a state of siege. On the motion of Mirabeau, an address was presented, on the 8th of July, to the King, praying him to remove the troops from the scene of legislative deliberations; "more especially the foreigners, paid to defend, and not to disturb the national tranquillity." Louis, misled by incompetent advisers, who believed him strong enough to contest the point, refused to listen to this proposal; but offered, instead, to transfer the meetings of the States General to Noyon or Soissons. The answer of Mirabeau was firm and just. "It belongs," he said, "to the troops to remove from the Assembly, and not the Assembly from the troops. We petitioned for the withdrawal of the army, not for our own banishment."

On the 11th of July, the Ministry, which had advised the King to convoke the States General, and to make the few popular concessions which had been granted, was dismissed. On the 12th, Sunday, the news of this unwise proceeding reached Paris. In the evening, it

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was made known in the theatres. The performances were instantly suspended, and tumult was spread through the city. Above ten thousand persons assembled in the gardens of the Palais-Royal; and, after listening to a furious harangue from Camille Desmoulins, tore each a green leaf from the chesnut trees which grew there, and, wearing it as a badge, traversed the streets of Paris, bearing in procession, covered with crape, the busts of the exiled minister, Necker, and the Duke of Orleans, which were taken from a sculptor's shop. At the Place Vendôme, the crowd encountered a detachment of the German Royals, but put them to speedy flight with a volley of stones: but troops continuing to arrive, the multitude was again assailed at the Place Louis XV. by the dragoons of Prince Lambesc, and the bearer of one of the busts and a soldier of the French Guard were killed. The mob now fled into the gardens of the Tuileries, where, being still pursued, an old man, who was unconcerned in the riot, was wounded; upon which the confusion and uproar became universal, and a general shout burst from the people, "To arms!" which was echoed through the Tuileries, the Palais-Royal, the City, and the Faubourgs. During the whole night, Paris continued in a state of ferment. The French Guards, who were known to be well-affected towards the populace, had been ordered to remain in their barracks; but, on learning what was passing in the city, they seized their arms, and, marching to the scene of action, fired upon the foreign troops, to whom the restoration of order had been entrusted. The alarm-bell was rung in every church, and the authorities of the districts hastily assembled to concert measures for the safety of the capital. The citizens began to form bands of volunteers, who paraded the streets, in which large fires were lighted, and drew up in the squares and public gardens, enjoining all who appeared disposed to break the peace to remain quiet till morning.

At daylight, on the 13th, a number of persons went from house to house, demanding arms: but, though the confusion was such that almost any crime might have been committed with impunity, the only pillage that took place was at the armourers' shops, and from these nothing was taken but guns and swords, for which receipts were given. Every place in which arms or ammunition was supposed to be deposited was ransacked; but still the supply was inadequate to

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the demand. It was finally resolved, by some of the electors of Paris, who had formed a Permanent Committee among themselves, and taken the power of governing the City into their own hands, to order fifty thousand pikes to be instantly forged; and, in the meantime, that a burgess guard, to the number of forty-eight thousand men, should be organized, in which all the citizens were invited to enrol themselves. The command of this body was offered to the Duke d'Aumont, who required twenty-four hours for consideration; and, in the interval, the Marquis de Salle was appointed in his stead. The green chesnut leaves were displaced by the red and blue cockade, the colours of the capital: the citizens thronged to fill the ranks of the new army, and were joined by the medical students, the soldiers of the city watch, and the French Guards. Patrols were formed to guard the streets, and at night every precaution was taken to prevent disturbance; but the inhabitants continued to be in a state of the most dreadful alarm and anxiety, not only lest the city should be attacked, and subjected to martial law, by the troops quartered without the walls, but for fear that the clamorous multitude, who had entirely ceased from work, should be driven, by rage and hunger, to desperate excesses. It was observed, too, that a number of half-famished, ragged, ferocious-looking, and apparently homeless wretches, who formed no portion of the ordinary population of the capital, began to mingle with the throng, and urge it to deeds of violence and bloodshed. "They were," says an eye-witness, "men armed like savages; creatures such as no man ever remembered to have met in open day. Whence came they? Who, or what had drawn them from their dark retreats?"

If it had been intended to act with vigour against the insurgents, the 13th was probably the time when it might have been done with most effect. The crowd were badly armed; few of the higher classes of citizens had joined them; they had no artillery, no ammunition, were famishing for want of provisions, and without a leader, whose skill, courage, or fidelity could be relied upon: but the King and his Council, although seeking to intimidate, were desirous of sparing the people; and the orders issued to the troops were, that they should refrain from all acts of severity, and never, unless at the last extremity, and in their own defence, fire upon their opponents. The Court had

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adopted the mistaken notion, that forbearance would have some effect upon the mob; and that a revolt might be suppressed without inflicting personal injury upon the rebels.

Early in the morning of the 14th, the people, in momentary expectation of being attacked by the military, and informed that the Bastille was about to be reinforced with a strong garrison, hastened to the Hôtel des Invalides, where a large magazine of arms was said to exist. The Governor made no resistance when summoned to surrender; and, although six Swiss battalions and a body of eight hundred horse lay in the immediate neighbourhood, every thing was left at the discretion of the rioters. Twenty-eight thousand muskets, and a considerable quantity of spears and sabres, were found in the vaults beneath the dome, which, with the cannon from the Esplanade, were immediately conveyed to the Hôtel de Ville. The cannon were placed at the entrance to the Faubourgs, at the castle of the Tuileries, upon the quays and bridges; and the small arms were distributed among the newly-raised army of citizens. It was presently resolved to attack the Bastille, before the troops intended for its defence should arrive; and orders having been given by the Committee to that effect, a general cry arose from all sides, "To the Bastille! to the Bastille!" From nine in the morning till two in the afternoon, nothing but this reiterated shout could be heard throughout Paris. It seemed, from the immense concourse hastening thither, armed with all kinds of weapons,—guns, swords, pikes, halberts, hammers, axes, scythes, pitchforks, spits, and clubs,—that the whole population of the capital, men, women, and children, had devoted themselves to the destruction of this odious prison, which had long been considered one of the chief bulwarks of despotism in France. Of the procession itself, no description would afford an adequate idea. Although totally unprepared for an attack, De Launay, the governor, from the commencement of the insurrection, had taken the precaution to raise the drawbridge, and to post sentinels on the walls and towers. Three guns, loaded with cannister-shot, commanded the entrance; and about fifteen pieces were placed upon the walls, and pointed towards Paris.

A member of the National Assembly, named Thuriot de la Rosiere, demanded an interview with the Governor, and being admitted to his

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presence, required the surrender of the fortress. This was too unreasonable to be complied with; but De Launay promised that the garrison — which indeed consisted but of thirty-two Swiss soldiers, and about eighty invalids — should not fire upon the people, unless in self-defence. It was observed, however, that on the towers of the drawbridge a mass of stones and broken iron had been collected to crush those who should advance to the foot of the walls. Thuriot, returning to the besiegers, related what he had heard and seen; but the knowledge that any preparation had been made for defending the place, served to exasperate the crowd, who shouted more furiously than ever, "Down with the Bastille!" A few determined men then suddenly rushed forward, knocked down a sentinel, and struck the chains of the great bridge with axes. The soldiers within called upon the assailants to fall back, or they would fire; but the assault was continued till the drawbridge fell, and gave admittance to the first court. When the mob had reached the second bridge, it was fired upon by the soldiers; and one man being killed, and several wounded, the crowd was for an instant put to flight, and called out for mercy. A deputation from the people was sent to parley, and the firing ceased; but the insurgents still pressing forward, regardless of the remonstrances of the soldiers, towards the inner drawbridge, the garrison was compelled a second time to fire, in order to disperse them. This discharge did considerable execution; but it rendered the people, whose number was increasing every moment, bolder and more enraged. They destroyed the guard-house, plundered the shops and barracks of the fore-court, and gave the Governor's house to the flames. A cannon was now fired upon the besiegers, accompanied with a third discharge of musketry. A young officer, of extraordinary courage, named Elie, then advanced, at the head of about a dozen citizens, to the edge of the moat, and called out to the garrison, that if the fortress were surrendered not a man should be hurt. De Launay, whose whole stock of provisions consisted of two sacks of flour and a little rice, and who knew that the invalids were not to be depended upon, was in no condition to sustain a protracted siege, and therefore offered to capitulate on Elie's terms; insisting, however, upon having these in writing, ratified by the Committee of the Hôtel de Ville. While this offer was being debated by the

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leading citizens, the French Guard arrived with the cannon, taken from the Hôtel des Invalides. The mob, encouraged by this important reinforcement, would not henceforth listen to anything but instant and unconditional surrender; and De Launay, seeing the hopelessness of resistance, and fearing the consequences of defeat, seized a lighted match from a cannon near him, and rushed towards the powder magazine, determined to blow up the building, and bury himself and the besiegers in the ruins. The sentinels on duty prevented this act of desperation, by opposing their bayonets to their commander's breast; and in the midst of the confusion, within and without the fortress, the drawbridge was lowered, and the insurgents became masters of the Bastille. Elie, who again pledged his word for the personal safety of the garrison, received the keys of the place, but refused to accept the Governor's sword which was tendered to him. The brave Elie exerted all his eloquence to be permitted to perform his promise of protection; but the mob, as soon as they were out of danger, became implacable, and yelled frantically, "Give up those who have fired on their fellow-citizens—they merit death!" Several invalids and Swiss soldiers, with two or three officers, were torn from their defenders and assassinated upon the spot; a few who were dressed in common linen frocks, escaped unnoticed among the crowd, the rest were dragged in triumph through the streets, first to the Place de Grève, where two of their number were hanged, and thence to the Hôtel de Ville, where De Launay and his major,—after sustaining every indignity which a mob, intoxicated with unexpected success, and, it must be admitted, unaccustomed to acts of mercy or justice, could inflict,—had their heads inhumanly hacked off. The intercessions of Elie, to which were added those of La Salle and Moreau de St. Méry, were successful in saving the lives of twenty-two other persons, whose blood was demanded. The heads of De Launay, De Lorme, and several of their murdered comrades, were then stuck upon pikes, and carried in procession through the streets and squares of the capital to the Palais-Royal. But still insatiate, the rabble demanded more victims. It was pretended that a letter had been found implicating Flesselles, the mayor, in a conspiracy to mislead the citizens, and relieve the Bastille. He demanded to be heard at the Palais-Royal; but on the way thither, one of his

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accusers despatched him with a pistol shot. At night, barricades and entrenchments were formed in the streets, stones and other missiles were carried to the tops of the houses, a great number of pikes were forged and bullets cast, and everything indicated the fear of an immediate attack from the military.

In the meantime, the Bastille was searched and ransacked in every part. There were but seven prisoners found, not one of whom had been incarcerated during the reign of Louis XVI. Four were confined for forgery, and three,—one of whom was an insane Englishman, of the name of White,—for unknown offences. The populace expected to find many more, and explored every turning and crevice to discover places of concealment; but the fearful cells and dungeons, with the exceptions mentioned, and one vault in which a skeleton was found hanging to an iron cramp in the wall, were tenantless. It was unfortunate that, in their blind fury, the captors destroyed the house and offices of the Governor, in which were kept the official books and papers, which might have thrown additional light on the history of the prison.

During the night, the Duke de Liancourt carried to the King the news of the plunder of the Hôtel des Invalides, the attack and capture of the Bastille, the massacre of its garrison, and the defection of the French Guards. "It is a revolt!" exclaimed the astonished Louis. "No, Sire," replied the Duke, "it is a revolution!" By the advice of this excellent man, orders were instantly issued for the withdrawal of the troops from Paris and Versailles; and the Monarch was persuaded to dismiss his new Ministry, and go next day to the National Assembly to announce these changes in person, and to reassure the Members of his good intentions.

Accordingly, on the 15th, the King, without guards, and attended only by his brothers, repaired to the Legislative Chamber, and announced that he desired nothing more than to be incorporated with his people, to whose representatives he entirely confided himself, and for whose safety and that of the State he earnestly implored the Assembly to provide. At this speech shouts of applause echoed from every part of the hall; and when the King was about to depart, the Members rose spontaneously, and formed his retinue back to the palace. The news spread rapidly from Versailles to Paris, accom-

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panied by an announcement that Necker was recalled, and that Louis himself would come to the capital, in order to conciliate the affections of the citizens, on the following day. All was now joy and enthusiasm; and with the cry of "Vive la Nation!" was again mingled that of "Vive le Roi!" Bailly, the president of the National Assembly, was immediately nominated Mayor of Paris; and La Fayette was appointed to the command of the burghess, or, as the corps was henceforward called, the National Guard.

This period was the commencement of the first emigration. The Count D'Artois, the Princes of Condé and Conti, the family of Polignac, and a majority of the Ministry, who had superseded Necker and his friends, fearing the vengeance of the populace, fled in disguise from France. Of those who remained, Foulon and his son-in-law, Berthier, were discovered in Paris, dragged to the Place de Grève and beheaded, their heads carried through the streets upon pikes, and their bodies torn to pieces in the Palais-Royal. To shew the nature of the ferocity which the terrible incidents of the few preceding days had freed from restraint, it will be sufficient to mention, that when Lally Tollendal drew the attention of the National Assembly to the assassination of the two Ministers, Barnave, a young man, in mourning for the recent death of his father, interrupted the recital, by exclaiming with a sneer, "Is, then, the blood which has been shed so pure?" Insensibility, indeed, had begun to be regarded as a virtue by the more violent democrats, who from seeking for freedom already aspired after dominion. The insurrection in Paris was the signal for disturbances of the most terrible character in other parts of the country. In one province, thirty-six country seats were burnt and destroyed; in Languedoc, M. de Barras was hacked to pieces in the presence of his pregnant wife; and in Normandy, a paralytic old man was cast upon a burning pile, formed of his own property. The title-deeds, patents of privilege, and family papers of the nobility and gentry, were special objects of vengeance to the peasantry; who thus evinced a degree of ignorant barbarism not inferior to that of the followers of the English rebel, Wat Tyler, upwards of four centuries earlier.

On the 4th of August, the National Assembly, on the motion of the Duke de Nöailles, proceeded to frame decrees for the redemption

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of oppressive feudal rights, and the suppression of compulsory servitude. These were immediately followed by the voluntary renunciation by a great number of the nobility of their hereditary privileges and titles. The Duke du Châtelet proposed the abolition of tithes, and the substitution of a small pecuniary tax; and the Bishop of Chartres moved for the suppression of seignorial rights and magisterial jurisdiction. In short, in a few hours, all the abuses which had been so loudly complained of, previously to the meeting of the States General, were formally abolished. This was the beginning of what the Revolutionists called the Reign of Equality. A medal was struck to commemorate the events of the day, and Louis XVI. received the title of "Restorer of French Liberty." The National Assembly henceforward took the name of "The Constituent Assembly," and devoted itself to the framing of a new Constitution for the kingdom. The celebrated "Declaration of the Rights of Man" followed, and the power of the Monarch was virtually abolished.

It was scarcely to be expected that the King would readily sanction such a total and abrupt change of the national laws and institutions. Time was, accordingly, taken to deliberate on the subject; and in the meantime, the Ministry took what precautions they could to delay the publication of all official reports in which the nature of the decrees were mentioned. The Assembly, however, who in all their proceedings displayed strong suspicions of the King's want of sincerity, promulgated the decrees themselves; and a rumour was circulated, that the reason of delaying the Royal assent was the contemplated flight of the King to the frontier, where the emigrant princes and nobles were already assembled. The people, upon this, became impatient, and gave vent to their indignation in angry menaces against the Court and its advisers; and so little circumspect were the King's councillors, that an occasion for insurrection was speedily furnished to the disaffected.

Alarmed by the events which had occurred in Paris, and by the agitation still existing there and throughout the provinces, which was greatly increased by a scarcity of provisions, additional troops had been summoned to Versailles, to protect the person of the King, and the Gardes-du-corps had been doubled. This was industriously magnified into proof of an intended attempt to bring about a counter-

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revolution, to annul the decrees, and dissolve the Assembly. During this period of suspense and apprehension, namely, on the 1st of October, the Gardes-du-corps imprudently gave a splendid fête, at the palace, to the officers of several regiments of foreigners, then stationed at Versailles. The grand banquet-hall, which it had never been customary to use, except for state festivals, was thrown open on this occasion. The King, Queen, and Dauphin graced the fête with their presence, and the guests exhibited a degree of loyalty which appears to have been rendered exuberant by wine. When the Royal Family had withdrawn, all reserve was banished. The party drew their swords, and vowed eternal attachment to the Monarchy; they threw their tri-coloured cockades on the floor, and trampled on them; the band sounded a charge, the officers rushed as to an assault into the galleries, and were there received with caresses by the ladies of the Court, who decorated them with white ribbons and cockades. The whole scene was ridiculously extravagant; but its details being reported in Paris, created the greatest fermentation. With a folly, which is utterly unaccountable, the banquet was suffered to be renewed in the same place two days afterwards.

By the 5th, the fear of counter-revolutionary conspiracies, and want of food, had excited the people to absolute frenzy. A young woman, most probably tutored for that purpose, rushed into a guard-house, seized a drum, and ran along the streets beating it, crying, "Bread, bread!" She was soon surrounded by an immense crowd of persons of each sex and of all ages, who, after forcing their way to the interior of the Hôtel de Ville, and plundering it of a large quantity of arms, sounded the tocsin, and prepared to march to Versailles. The National Guards, notwithstanding the opposition of La Fayette, their chief, and the French Guards, in the evening, followed the mob, and took with them a train of artillery. The late and unexpected appearance of such a numerous cavalcade, which has been computed to have consisted of thirty thousand persons, created the utmost terror in the Court. The Gardes-du-corps were drawn up in the court of the palace, and the other regiments were ordered to keep themselves in readiness to repress any tumult that might arise. At first, all was tranquil; but it was scarcely possible that such an assemblage, entertaining feelings of the most determined hatred to the soldiers who

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remained attached to the King, should refrain from expressing their hostility. After two or three hours, a quarrel arose, and the Gardes-du-corps were attacked by the populace, who pursued them to the interior of the palace. In the midst of the fray, La Fayette and the National Guard arrived, and speedily restored order. The Marquis, by his prudence and moderation, gained the esteem of both parties, and became the mediator between them. By his advice, the Parisians accepted the hospitality of the citizens of Versailles, and retired for the night; and the King was induced to send for the President of the Constituent Assembly, and sign the disputed decrees and the "Declaration of Rights."

At dawn, however, a fresh disturbance arose. Some of the mob having penetrated to the inner court of the palace, the entrance to which had been left unguarded, perceived an officer of the Garde-du-corps at a window, and accosted him with taunts and abuse. The officer fired, and wounded one of his assailants. The crowd, which was by this time numerous, rushed furiously on the soldiers, who defended the entrance and passages of the palace, foot by foot; but, being overpowered, they were driven back to the doors of the royal apartments, from which the Queen had barely time to escape, half dressed, ere her chamber was forcibly entered. La Fayette, who had not retired to rest above an hour, when the news of this outrage was brought to him, was quickly on horseback, and hastened to the palace. He instantly put himself at the head of some French Guards, who had been attracted to the spot, and succeeded in dispersing the populace, and rescuing the few survivors of the gallant Garde-du-corps from the massacre with which they were threatened. The mob now rallied in the marble-court, under the King's balcony, and demanded the appearance of Louis. On the guarantee of La Fayette for their safety, the King and Queen went forward, and, with loud cries, the people insisted on their immediately accompanying them to Paris, under a pretended apprehension of their contemplated flight. In order to reconcile all differences, the earnest and sincere La Fayette then led into the balcony an officer of the Royal Guard, and, after placing in his hat a tri-coloured cockade, embraced him in the presence of the multitude, who immediately, with one accord, shouted, "Long live the Gardes-du-corps!" The Royal Family immediately afterwards

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set out for the capital, escorted by the National Guard. "These events," says Mignet, "destroyed the ancient régime of the Court, by taking away its guard, transporting it from the Royal town to the scene of the Revolution, and placing it under the surveillance of the people."

The Constituent Assembly forthwith removed its sittings to Paris, and shortly afterwards passed a decree for dividing the kingdom into departments, and for the abolition of local jurisdictions. To these alterations considerable opposition was offered, not only by individuals, but by the Local States of two entire provinces—Languedoc and Britany—and the Parliaments of Metz, Rouen, Bourdeaux, and Toulouse. The clergy, also, and many of those who had promoted the Revolution, while it appeared to have a constitutional object only, began to exclaim against the assumption of power by the Assembly, which, in truth, had already grown to be more arbitrary than the Sovereign had ever been. The first decided opposition, however, which was offered to the Assembly by the people, was manifested on the attempted sale of the church property, which the Revolutionary Government sought to appropriate to its own use. Individuals refused to buy, and few could be prevailed on to accept the securities issued, under the name of *Assignats*, for loans on the estates of the clergy. Hence discord arose in the Assembly itself; and many of the members, both of the clergy and laity, with a prophetic foresight of what would ensue, resigned their seats as representatives, and quitted the country. The people, too, began in the departments to call upon the Assembly, which had so far exceeded the powers originally delegated to it, and which had only been appointed for a year, to dissolve itself, in order that new Deputies might be elected, and the kingdom be fairly represented under the new system of government which had been created. "The founders of liberty," said the Abbé Maury, who advocated compliance with these requisitions, "should respect the liberty of the Nation. The Constitution being made, the rights of the people, over their representatives, should be respected." The Assembly, however, refused to listen to these just demands; and, on the motion of Mirabeau, declared, that it would only cease to act as a Legislative body when its work was accomplished. In other words, that it intended to

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maintain its usurped authority, till deprived thereof by a power superior to its own. It would be unjust to the Revolutionists, however, to deny that several of their decrees were moderate, wise, and just. They abolished the sale of offices of justice; rendered the judges independent of the Crown; and established trial by jury, the freedom of the press, and universal liberty of conscience. The King, it may be added, after having been forced to quit Versailles, considered himself, as in reality he was, a prisoner, and hesitated not to sanction whatever was proposed to him by those who held him in custody, tacitly reserving the right of rescinding his acquiescence, at a favourable opportunity, as having been extorted by fear.

The 14th of July, 1790, the anniversary of taking the Bastille, was appointed for a grand confederation of the kingdom in the *Champ de Mars*, where the King, the Constituent Assembly, the National Guard, and Deputies from the several departments, were to take an oath of obedience to the New Constitution. As a prelude to this festival, all distinctive titles, armorial bearings, liveries, and orders of chivalry were formally abolished; "in order," says a democratic writer "that vanity might forego its privileges as power had already done." The people assembled at seven in the morning, on the site of the Bastille, and proceeded thence to the scene of the celebration. The Champ de Mars was surrounded by steps of green turf, rising above each other, which were occupied by upwards of four hundred thousand spectators. In the centre was an antique altar, around which were places for the King and his family, the Assembly, and the Municipality. The federates of the departments were ranged under their respective banners; the deputies of the army according to their ranks under the colours of their several corps. The Bishop of Autun, in pontifical robes, officiated at the altar, assisted by four hundred priests, in white surplices and tricoloured scarfs. Mass was celebrated to the sound of military music, and Talleyrand blessed the oriflamme and the banners of the departments. La Fayette, borne to the altar in the arms of the grenadiers of the National Guard, pronounced the following oath, which was repeated after him by the whole assemblage. "We swear to be for ever faithful to the Nation, the Law, and the King; to maintain the established Constitution, and to remain united, as Frenchmen, by

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indissoluble ties of fraternity." Discharges of artillery, blended with martial music, the clashing of arms, and the applauding shouts of the people then rent the air, and the ceremonial was closed by a hymn of thanksgiving. In the evening, the theatres were thrown open at the public expense, Paris was illuminated, and balls and entertainments were given by the citizens. The spot on which the Bastille had stood twelve months before, was devoted to dancing; and many persons thought that the Revolution was happily terminated. The fierceness of faction, however, only slumbered for a time, to awake with tenfold energy, and deluge the country with blood.

In the meantime, the King, becoming daily more anxious for the safety of his family and himself, sought the means of escape from captivity. In his intercourse with Mirabeau, as leader of the Assembly, Louis had discovered that the patriotism of the orator was subservient to the gratification of his profligate pleasures, and that wealth and honours were deemed by him of more worth than principles. Mirabeau had consequently been won to promise assistance to the Royal Family in escaping from Paris, if it should be found impracticable to restore the kingly authority by means of the Assembly, which had overthrown it. He accordingly opened a communication with the Marquis de Bouillé, governor of Metz, an officer of known courage and talent, and an avowed royalist, who agreed not only to facilitate the King's escape, if necessary, but to endeavour to bring over the troops under his command to the royal cause. The sudden death of Mirabeau, which happened in April, 1791, put an end to the project of converting the Assembly, and postponed the period of the royal flight. In order, however, to ascertain how far he was to be permitted the exercise of personal freedom, the King, immediately after the death of Mirabeau, announced his intention to go for change of air to St. Cloud. The royal carriages were accordingly drawn out, and Louis and his consort had already taken their seats, when an outcry was raised by the spectators, and echoed by the National Guard upon duty, that the departure of the King should not be permitted. La Fayette was sent for, and, on his arrival at the palace, remonstrated with the refractory soldiers, but to no purpose: they absolutely refused to allow the carriages to quit the precincts of the Tuileries. From this experiment, it was seen that it would be

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necessary to conceal every movement that might indicate a meditated flight: the profoundest secrecy was, therefore, observed in all the preparations. De Bouillé, upon pretence of a movement of the emigrants on the frontier, had established a camp at Montmédy; and shortly afterwards placed detachments of soldiers, on whose fidelity he placed reliance, along the route the King was to follow: assigning as a reason for these dispositions, that they were made for the protection of the military chest about to be sent for the payment of the army.

On the night of the 20th of June, the King and Queen, with their two children, attended by one female, and escorted by three gentlemen of the Gardes-du-corps, succeeded in quitting the Tuileries separately, and in disguise; and arriving at the Place du Carrousel, immediately set off, in a carriage which was in readiness, in the direction of Montmédy. After a multitude of miraculous escapes, the Royal fugitives reached St. Menehould, where they were met by one of the detachments sent for their escort by Bouillé. Here, however, while they halted to change horses, the King, emboldened by the distance between him and Paris, imprudently ventured to shew himself in front of the post-house, and, from the fatal likeness of him depicted at the head of the public documents, was instantly recognised by Drouet, the postmaster's son, an earnest Revolutionist. Drouet, in order to prevent the escape of his Sovereign, mounted a fleet horse, and galloped to Varennes, where he gave such information as led to the detention of the Royal party, on the evening of the 21st. The National Guard was already under arms; and the soldiers of Bouillé either feared, or were unwilling to attempt a rescue. The Marquis, having been informed of the arrest, hastened himself, with a regiment of cavalry, to Varennes, on the following day; but the King had been several hours on the road to Paris when he arrived, and the dragoons refusing to proceed, and betraying other symptoms of disaffection, Bouillé hastened to quit the kingdom. Monsieur, the King's eldest brother, afterwards Louis XVIII., who quitted Paris at the same time with the King, reached Brussels in safety.

The Assembly and the Parisians, when they had first heard of the King's flight, were seized with panic. It was confidently prophesied by all parties, that he would speedily return, at the head of an army of emigrants and foreigners, to annul all the proceedings of the Revo-

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lutionists, and re-establish the ancient despotism. Bailly, La Fayette, and a number of others, were charged as being accessories to the escape. In short, it was easy to perceive, that had the King at this time been able to reach a foreign asylum, the philosophical Constitution of France would not only have proved insufficient for the maintenance of order, but would have presently become an utter wreck in the hands of its makers.

The King and Queen, on reaching Paris, were recommitted to the Tuileries, and the Assembly at once took measures to provide against the inconvenience of a similar escape, by first suspending the Royal authority, and afterwards decreeing that the Crown should be forfeited in case the King retracted his oath to the Constitution, or should put himself, or suffer another to do so in his name, at the head of an army hostile to the nation. It was significantly added, that any act involving such forfeiture would reduce the King to the condition of a mere citizen, and that his person would then cease to be inviolable. The Republican, or, as it was called from its original place of meeting, the Jacobin party, was averse even to this small extension of favour, and instigated the mob to petition for the immediate dethronement and trial of the King. The meeting for this purpose took place in the Champ de Mars, and the petition was placed, for signature, upon the altar of the Federation. In order that the proceedings of the day might not be unmarked, the blood of two invalids, who, unconscious of offence, were found at breakfast under the scaffolding which supported the altar, was poured forth as a libation. These poor men were stigmatized as spies, and instantly put to a cruel death; and their heads, being placed upon pikes, were displayed as standards to the multitude. Danton and Desmoulins harangued the meeting, inciting it to persist in the prayer of the petition; but the object of the tumult being by this time known, and the municipality having received orders from the Assembly to disperse the rioters, La Fayette and Bailly arrived on the field, at the head of twelve hundred of the National Guard; and having vainly enjoined the peaceable departure of the rabble, unfurled the red flag, and proclaimed martial law. The enraged multitude vociferated, "Down with La Fayette!—Down with the red flag!" and assailed the soldiery with a volley of stones. La Fayette gave orders to fire

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over the heads of the crowd; but this, instead of intimidating, rendered them more insolent, and it became necessary to order a second discharge, which, being poured directly into the throng, killed upwards of a hundred upon the spot. The mob fled with the utmost precipitation; and, in less than five minutes, not one of the petitioners remained on the Champ de Mars. "The Constituted authorities," says Sir Walter Scott, "thus, for the first time since the Revolution commenced, remained masters of a contested field." This was the first real struggle between the Revolutionists themselves; and had their triumph been followed up by the Constitutionalists, with the trial and punishment of the ringleaders of the Republicans, the Jacobins and Levellers might have been entirely crushed. Their leaders, Danton, Desmoulins, and Marat, anticipating such a result, skulked in concealment till a public decree of amnesty was passed by the Assembly. The public discontent, however, was now more openly manifested against the Legislature; and the Deputies, after completing and revising their Code of Constitutional Decrees, procuring the acceptance of them by the King, and appointing the 1st of October for the meeting of a fresh body of Representatives, under the title of the "National Legislative Assembly," relinquished their functions, and departed to their several provinces, to agitate for a new election.

The Session of the Constituent Assembly had commenced with the States General. In the changes which it had introduced, there can be no doubt that it had exceeded its powers as well as its duties; and in some instances passed decrees from passion and prejudice, instead of reason and necessity—hurried away by the torrent of eloquence which, in matters of political discussion, now first gushed forth in France, as from a long pent spring, to break down and overwhelm the barriers with which despotic power had environed freedom. Reference has been previously made to the want of practical knowledge in the Deputies. This appears to have induced most of the errors of the Assembly, which sought to establish a visionary scheme of perfection, without sufficiently considering that men are creatures of habit, upon whom systems and theories, at variance with established modes of thought and action, are not likely to have an effect beyond the moment of being presented with the gloss of novelty. The intentions of a

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majority of the Deputies were good; and their practice embraced no personal proscriptions, but admitted to its fullest extent the freedom of debate, and afforded the requisite protection to life and property. The violence that occurred, during its sittings, was neither directly instigated nor sanctioned by the Assembly, but arose principally from the unsettled state of men's minds, produced by the sudden and great changes which the government of the country had undergone; and the necessary disappointment of the absurd expectations which the poorest and most ignorant classes had grounded upon these changes. Many of the members were, perhaps, themselves the dupes of their extravagant zeal for the "regeneration of mankind;" and, when the fabric of their labours parted and went to pieces, became victims to the rage which their failure had excited. This explanation is due to the First Assembly, in order that it may not be confounded with that which succeeded.

The Legislative Assembly was composed almost wholly of democratic members. None of the Deputies who had been sent to the States General were eligible for immediate re-election: hence the Legislature was again composed of men entirely unpractised in their duties; and who could proceed to make laws only by way of experiment. To add to the inefficiency of such a body, it has been well observed by Sir Walter Scott, that "as the Constituent Assembly contained the first and readiest choice among the men of ability whom France had in her bosom, it followed that the Second Assembly could not be equal to the first in abundance of talent." The parties into which the Assembly, at once, divided itself were the Feuillants, or Constitutionals, who adopted the principles of the Constituent Assembly, and were led by Dumas, Raymond, and Vaublanc; the Girondists, or Republicans, headed by Condorcet, Brissot, Vergniaud, and Isnard; and the Jacobins, or Mountainists, who sought to abolish the form as well as the power of Monarchy, and to establish perfect equality. The leaders of the last party had been actors in the insurrection of the Champ de Mars, being Chabot, Bazire, and Merlin, within the Assembly; and in the clubs, Robespierre, Danton, Marat, Collot d'Herbois, and Desmoulins.

The first proceedings of the Assembly were to demand an explanation of certain warlike movements on the frontiers of France,

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directed by Austria, Prussia, Sweden, and Spain, assisted by what was called *External France*, which comprised many thousands of emigrants, who, deeming their own country an unsafe residence, had sought refuge in the Austrian Netherlands, and there formed a considerable army. The alarm of the Revolutionists was certainly not without cause. The Allied Powers demanded that Louis XVI. should be placed at liberty; that the Assembly should desist from its attacks upon the power of the Crown; that it should reinstate the Nobility and Clergy in all their privileges; and that the revolutionary clubs, which had acquired sufficient power to overawe the Legislature itself, should be immediately suppressed. At the same time, the French Princes protested against the King's acceptance of the Act of the Constitution, asserting that he had no power to alienate the rights of the ancient Monarchy. The nobles throughout the kingdom quitted their castles and mansions. The officers left the army, and whole companies of soldiers deserted with their arms and accoutrements, and crossing the frontiers swelled the ranks of the emigrant army. In the departments of La Vendée, Calvados, and Gévandun, alarming insurrections broke out; and the people declared their resolution to maintain the authority of the King, the Nobles, and the Clergy. It was absolutely necessary, therefore, that the Assembly should at once take the necessary steps to vindicate its authority, or quietly renounce its pretensions. To check future emigration, and to intimidate those who had already fled, three decrees were framed, in which it was declared that unless Monsieur, the King's eldest brother, returned to France within two months, he should be deprived of the Regency, and all other rights as a Prince of the Blood; that all Frenchmen who remained beyond the frontiers after the first of the ensuing January, should be deemed conspirators against their country, and treated accordingly; and that all ecclesiastics who refused to take the civic oath, by which Papal supremacy was denounced, were to be deprived of their benefices and imprisoned. The King sanctioned the decree which affected his brother, but put his *veto* upon the other two. Enraged at this refusal, the Assembly demanded the immediate dismissal of the Ministry, and a declaration of war against the Princes of the Germanic Confederation, who not content with assisting the emigrants openly, menaced an invasion of

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France. These demands were so unanimously and resolutely insisted on, that Louis had no alternative, but was forced to comply.

Accordingly, a new administration was formed under Dumouriez and Roland; men popular among the Girondists, but without the requisite talents or steadiness of principle to conduct the government under such extraordinary circumstances as those of France at the commencement of the year 1792. This change was followed by a declaration of war, on the 20th of April, against Francis II., King of Hungary and Bohemia, shortly afterwards elected Emperor of Germany, the brother of the Queen of France. The news was received everywhere with joy; troops were rapidly raised, contributions voluntarily offered, factions seemed to be reconciled, and general enthusiasm succeeded to fear and distrust. The forces of the kingdom were divided into three armies:—that of the North, under Marshal Rochambeau, numbered forty-eight thousand men; La Fayette had the command of the Central Army, about fifty-two thousand strong, and the Army of the Rhine, consisting of forty-three thousand soldiers, was entrusted to Marshal Luckner. The first operations of these troops were ill-concerted, and brought nothing but defeat and disgrace to the French arms. Instead of striking terror in the Allies, therefore, the armies were speedily reduced to act on the defensive. Rochambeau threw up his commission, and gloom and panic again took possession of the revolutionary leaders and their supporters. The Jacobins went so far in their clubs, as to denounce the unsuccessful soldiers as traitors to the State, who wished to contribute to a counter-revolution, and restore the King to absolute power. La Fayette, annoyed by these attacks, and fearing a renewal of outrage in the capital, wrote on the 16th of June to the Assembly, demanding the immediate suppression of the anarchical clubs, and the re-establishment of order and the sovereignty of the laws. The Assembly, however, by this time was itself under the absolute dominion of the clubs, and dared not, even if it had been disposed to do so, to act against the Democrats. The mob and its leaders had become supreme; and in a public petition presented to the Legislature on the 20th of June, they demanded the cause of the disasters of the army, and added, that if the executive authority was in fault, that authority should be *annihilated*! The crowd which accompanied

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the bearers of this *document*, is said to have consisted of upwards of thirty thousand persons, headed by the Marquis of St. Hurugnes, and escorted by a body of National Guards and persons armed with pikes, scythes, and pitchforks. Republican banners and ensigns floated above them; and as they traversed the streets, and filed through the Hall of the Assembly, they sung the revolutionary chorus, "*ça ira*," and shouted, "The Nation for ever! Long live the Sans-culottes! Down with the Veto!"

That the animus of their proceedings might not be mistaken, five or six thousand of the multitude, on leaving the Assembly, went direct to the palace, and demanded to see the King. The outer gates were dashed open with sledge hammers, and the furious rabble rushed into the interior, and began demolishing the doors with their axes; but Louis, undismayed, ordered them to be admitted, even to the royal apartments. For a moment his assailants were abashed and confounded at his tranquil demeanour and unruffled brow, and the progress of the mob was arrested; but those behind continuing to press forward, the King was forced into the recess of a window, and compelled to mount upon a table, that he might be distinctly seen by the crowd below. Never was greater courage displayed by man than Louis XVI. displayed on this humiliating occasion. One of the frantic rabble placed a red cap upon his head, and another offering him a bottle, insisted on his drinking to the Nation. "Fear nothing, Sire," said a brave grenadier of the National Guard, who was near to defend him: the King took the citizen's hand, and pressing it to his breast, replied, "Judge yourself if I fear." At length the arrival of twenty-five Deputies from the Legislative Assembly, and the exertion of Pétion, then Mayor of Paris, put an end to the tumult, and the palace was cleared without the effusion of blood.

This gratuitous outrage called forth strong remonstrances from the whole party of the Constitutionalists, and from all sober-minded men throughout the kingdom, who poured in petitions subscribed by many thousands of persons, praying that the insurgent leaders might be brought to instant punishment. La Fayette repaired to Paris in person, to demand not only that the authors of the insurrection should be delivered up to justice, but that all revolutionary meetings should be suppressed, and the clubs in which they originated closed. But the

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Assembly, though it adopted a motion of enquiry into the cause of the proceedings of which the General complained, feared to take any ulterior measures; and La Fayette, after discovering that his influence with the National Guards had been diminished during his absence, and vainly imploring the King to attempt a new escape under his guidance, returned to the army to await the approach of the Allied troops.

The revolutionary stream now swept onwards with greater vigour and fury than ever. The courage and determination, as well as the sentiments of La Fayette, were well known, and it was feared that he would march his army upon Paris, or concert measures with the Allies to restore the Monarchy, and overturn all that had been effected for the people. The Jacobins and Girondists, therefore, united their influence in order to destroy the reputation of the General, and if possible to procure his impeachment and trial as a culprit. Meanwhile the Allies crossed the Rhine, and entered the French territory; and on the 25th of July, 1792, the Duke of Brunswick published his celebrated Manifesto, in which he denounced those who had overthrown the legitimate Government of France, and attacked the King and his family. The Allied Sovereigns, he said, had taken up arms to put an end to anarchy, to repel the aggressions which had been made upon the altar and the throne, and to restore to the King the liberty and authority of which his rebellious subjects had deprived him. The Address concluded with a threat, that if the people did not instantly return to their fidelity, and restore the King to full liberty, they should be punished as rebels, and their houses given up to pillage and destruction; but that, on the contrary, if the demands of the Coalition were complied with, the Duke himself would engage the good offices of the Allies in pleading with Louis, to pardon the manifold errors and offences of his subjects.

Scarcely anything could have been worse-timed or more impolitic than this vaunting and insolent bravado. It diverted the sympathy of the middle classes and the better informed among the lower orders from the objects of the Constitutionalists, who desired only that rational liberty to which a great and enlightened nation was entitled, and fixed their attention upon a triumphant aristocracy, returning to enforce, with additional horrors, the odious system of exclusive tyranny and

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slavery from which the nation had but just escaped. It awakened the pride and the indignation of the whole people, who thus saw themselves disposed of *en masse*, as victims of conquest, almost before a shot had been fired. It asserted the right of foreigners to impose a form of government upon France; and, by treating as invalid the sanction which the King himself had given to many acts of the revolution, even before he could have been considered as subject to coercion, it virtually annulled the independence as well of the crown as of the country. The war henceforth, therefore, could not be fairly regarded otherwise than as one of freedom, in which Frenchmen could take part only as patriots or traitors. The immediate consequences of the Manifesto fell upon the head of the King, whose cause it identified with that of the invaders, and consequently set in opposition to the interest of the kingdom. The dethronement of Louis—"the man whom the Constitution had elevated as its chief, and whom perfidious advisers had rendered its enemy"—was loudly and earnestly demanded by the Girondists, the Jacobins, and many who had formerly attached themselves to the Constitutionalists. Several motions on the subject were made in the Assembly; but the proceedings of that body, in a matter of such moment, being too tardy for the violence of democracy, the leaders of the mob sought to accomplish their object in less time, and more effectually, by an insurrection.

At midnight, on the 9th of August, the tocsin was sounded throughout Paris, a single cannon was fired, the *générals* were beat, and the well-organized insurgents assembled in the faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau. The Court had been already apprised of an intended attack on the palace; and had hastily called to its assistance the Swiss Guards, amounting to eight or nine hundred, about four hundred grenadiers of the National Guard, whose loyal devotion could be relied on, and a small body of noblemen and gentlemen, who were usually in attendance on the Royal Family. Mandat, commander of the National Guard, repaired to the Tuileries, with his staff, accompanied by Pétion, the Mayor of Paris, whose presence was necessary to authorize the repelling of force with force. The National Guard, at the summons of their chief, marched also, with their artillery, to the scene of action, and filled the gardens and courts, while the Swiss and Royalists lined the passages and apartments of the palace.

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As soon as the conspirators had disposed the numerous forces which had assembled at their signal, some of their number hastened to the hall of the Legislative Assembly, and placed Vergniaud, a furious republican, in the chair, to be prepared to turn any circumstances that might require their interference to the advantage of the insurgents. Others took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, resolved to arrogate to themselves the municipal authority until their plot had triumphed, and royalty was abolished. As soon as it was known that Pétion had accompanied Mandat to the palace he was sent for, and, on his arrival, placed under a guard of insurrectionists. Mandat also received an order to repair to the Town-Hall, where he was accused of having ordered the guards to fire upon the people. This charge he repelled with scorn, and was forthwith ordered to imprisonment in the Abbaye; but, on leaving the hall, he was shot dead by an assassin. Santerre, a rich brewer, was then invested with the command of the National Guards instead of Mandat.

About five o'clock in the morning of the 10th, Louis, by the advice of those who had come to defend or die with him, visited the different posts where soldiers were stationed for the defence of the palace. He appeared deeply dejected, and wore, instead of uniform, a suit of regal mourning. His expressions were hasty and disjointed; the energy which he had displayed on other occasions seemed entirely to have forsaken him. It was in vain that the beautiful Queen, who appears to have been endued with a masculine courage which rose amid dangers, snatched a pistol from the belt of Count d'Affray, and thrust it into her husband's hand, exclaiming, "Now is the moment to shew yourself as you are!" His gloomy forebodings seem to have infected all who beheld him. Even the troops within the palace, whose fidelity was undoubted, observing how deeply he was affected, uttered but faintly and feebly the cheering cry of "Vive le Roi!" and when he reached the terrace to visit the Pont-Tournant, the general shout was "Vive la Nation!" while some exclaimed "Down with the Tyrant!" The King said nothing to stimulate his adherents, nor to discourage his enemies; but returned to the palace, pale and trembling, to hold counsel with his few remaining friends.

In the meantime upwards of twenty thousand insurgents had invested the Tuileries, and occupied all the avenues by which entrance

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or escape could be effected. The artillerymen of the National Guard speedily declared for the mob, and pointed their guns upon the palace; and several whole battalions, after witnessing the King's humiliating depression, joined in the popular cry of "Down with the Traitor! The Nation for ever!" The Procurator-syndic, Ræderer, believing that a contest was hopeless, proposed, as a last resource, that the Royal Family should fly for safety to the Legislative Assembly, to which, after some hesitation, Louis assented; and confiding himself, his Queen, his children, and the Princess Elizabeth, his sister, to an escort of three hundred Swiss Guards, and about an equal number of the loyal grenadiers of the National Guard, they were conducted to the Hall of the Assembly—assailed in their progress by the imprecations, abuse, and violence of the most ruffianly male and female rabble, that even the revolution had yet called from the stews or the galleys. On entering the Chamber of the Legislature, the King, with great dignity and composure, exclaimed, "Gentlemen, my family and I are come among you to prevent the commission of a great crime." The Assembly received him coldly, and assigned him and his family a place in the reporters' box, behind the President's chair; and scarcely had he reached this indifferent asylum, ere a heavy rolling fire of musketry and cannon announced that the insurgents, though baffled of the prey they had expected, were not to be satisfied without bloodshed. Indeed they attacked the palace; and after a severe struggle, which the brave Swiss maintained with unsurpassable gallantry, the overwhelming numbers—about thirty to one—of their assailants, assisted by many cannon, gave victory to the rabble. The Royal Guards were borne down and massacred almost to a man; and the crowd rushing into the palace, committed almost every species of enormity which hatred, vengeance, or even madness, could devise or execute. Pillage alone seemed excluded from the catalogue of crimes, of which the revolutionists on that day permitted the commission with impunity.

When the carnage was over, hundreds of furious men and women hurried to the Assembly to demand the lives of the King and the Royal Family; and the Legislature, which had merely waited for such authorization, decreed that the King was suspended from his functions; that the Ministry was dismissed; that a National Con-

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vention should forthwith be called to conduct the government; and that Louis, in the meantime, should be committed for safe custody to the Luxembourg.

La Fayette was the only distinguished man in France who attempted to raise his voice against this absolute domination of the lower orders. He had been one of the earliest assertors of rational freedom, but he desired nothing more. His object was limited to the equality of all classes in the eye of the law, a representative government, the protection of property, the free and impartial administration of justice, and the levying of taxes in proportion to the necessities of the state and the means of the people. He had not calculated upon entirely reversing the order of society, and placing in the hands of the multitude an irresponsible power, to defy and overthrow both Legislature and Law; and he was prepared to resist the establishment of such a state of anarchy, as the worst and most fearful of all tyrannies. At the time of the virtual abolition of monarchy, his head-quarters were at Sedan. He at once communicated with the Municipality of that town and the Directory of Ardennes; and finding them disposed to support him, as soon as the three Commissioners, sent by the Legislative Assembly to secure the army to the revolutionists, arrived, he sent them to prison, and appealed to his troops to renew their oath to the Constitution of 1789. The advance of the Allies, however, frustrated all his endeavours. The soldiers were well-disposed to the restoration of order, but not at the price of a foreign conquest of their country; so that, after being deserted by many of the officers and regiments in whom he had most confidence, he found it necessary to abandon his projects, and seek for personal safety in flight. He accordingly quitted the army, accompanied by MM. Bureau de Pusy, Latour-Maubourg, Alexander Lameth, and several other officers of his staff, and crossed the frontier into Holland, with the intention of passing thence to the United States of America; but, being discovered by the Austrians, they were arrested and consigned, first to the dungeons of Magdeburg, and afterwards to those of Olmutz, where they endured four years of the most distressing imprisonment. La Fayette was offered his freedom, on condition of lending his assistance to restore the ancient absolute monarchy, but preferred captivity to the abandonment of his principles.

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Having effected their great purpose of dethroning the King, the Jacobins, led by Danton, Marat, and Robespierre, procured his removal to the prison of the Temple, and demanded the trial of the "Conspirators of the 10th of August!" that is, of all who had then opposed the proceedings of the rabble. The Assembly had now no power but that of giving legal sanction to the will of the mob. The desired tribunal was accordingly appointed, with Danton at its head; and several of the adherents of the King were tried and executed: but the delay necessary to even a form of law, and its requisition of evidence, enraged the victorious party, who resolved to take the matter into their own hands. They accordingly invested the self-appointed commune of Paris with all the powers of government; caused the arrest of all who were suspected of being favourable to the King, or the Constitution which they had all sworn to maintain; and openly declared their intention of striking terror to the Royalists. The troops of the Coalition, meanwhile, had bombarded and taken Longwy and Verdun. The news reached Paris on the 1st of September, and excited in the whole population a degree of rage and terror which has scarcely a parallel in history. After a brief consultation among the insurrectionary chiefs, it was resolved that the domestic enemies of the Revolution should be massacred. At midnight the tocsin was accordingly sounded, the drums beat, and the prisons, containing several thousands of persons, placed at the disposal of the armed mob. The sequel is too horrible for detailed description. Bands of men and women assembled in the gaol-yards, to whom the unhappy captives were sent out, one by one, to be despatched with axes, hammers, pikes, and sabres. Among those who were thus butchered were the Princess de Lamballe, a friend of Marie Antoinette, and many other ladies of rank, whose heads were stuck upon pikes and paraded through the city. In the brief intervals of the carnage, which lasted for *four days*, from the 2nd to the 6th, the executioners ate, drank, and slept; awaking from slumber, or arising from table, to resume their work with fresh vigour and appetite. The assassins received from the Commune a louis a-day for their hire; and thus encouraged, when political victims were no longer to be found, they attacked the prison of the Bicêtre, where ordinary offenders were confined; and meeting here with unexpected resistance, they were

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obliged to employ cannon in their work of extermination. It has been computed that upwards of four thousand persons perished. The citizens of the capital took none, or little part in these scenes of blood; but stood by and gazed in stupefaction and horror, afraid to express an opinion lest they too should be singled out as objects of vengeance. Notwithstanding the revolting character of this massacre, it seems to have had the desirable effect of rousing the spirit of the French soldiers on the frontier; who shortly afterwards rallied under Dumouriez, Kellerman, and Bournonville, expelled the Allied troops from the French territory, and once more assumed the offensive.

The National Convention met for deliberation, on the 21st of September. It consisted of but two parties, the Gironde, or moderate Republicans; and the Mountain, or Terrorists. In this Assembly, fourteen out of the twenty representatives of Paris were Members of the Commune which had authorized the massacres of the 2nd of September; and their partisans formed a strong majority of the whole body. At their first sitting, the Deputies unanimously abolished Royalty, and proclaimed France a Republic. After a few unimportant quarrels between the factions composing the Convention, in which Robespierre and Marat, upon pretty good evidence, were denounced as aspiring to a Dictatorship, it was resolved to gratify the mob by bringing the King, or as he was now called *Louis Capet*, to trial for treason against the nation; and, in the interim, the name as well as the office of King was proscribed; the statues and pictures, not only of Louis XVI., but of the former Kings of France, were taken down; all emblems of royalty were defaced; even the royal sepulchres at St. Denis were broken to pieces, and the relics they contained exposed and dispersed.

The preparation of a report for the accusation of the Sovereign had been entrusted to twenty-one persons, the result of whose enquiries was, certainly with such judges, anything but favourable to Louis. It was proved against him, that he had secretly corresponded with the Emigrants and the Coalition, and approved their projects to restore the ancient despotism, and annul all that had been done since 1788. Upon these grounds, a decree of attainder was moved for, on the 13th of November. The furious Robespierre wished for his condemnation at once. "Louis was King," said this man of blood;

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"the Republic has superseded him; he is not, therefore, to be tried, he has been tried and condemned already, or the Republic is not settled. I demand that the Convention declare Louis Capet a traitor to the French people, and condemn him to death, on the instant, by virtue of the insurrection of the 10th of August!" The majority of the Members, however, had still sufficient courage to resist this species of illogical appeal; and decided that their prisoner should be brought to the bar of the Convention, to undergo, at least, a *form* of trial. He was, accordingly, summoned to appear before his judges on the 11th of December, 1792. "I will attend you," said Louis to the Commissioners sent for him, "not as acknowledging the right of the Convention to summon me, but because I must yield to its superior power."—"Louis," said Barrère, the President of the Assembly, when the King appeared in the hall, "you may be seated;" and even this act of condescension was disapproved by the Mountainists. On being interrogated, Louis denied all knowledge of the correspondence with which he was charged; and demanded he assistance of two advocates—Tronchet and Target—for his defence.

On being reconducted to prison, the King found that he was doomed to solitude. His wife, his sister, and his children, had been removed during his absence; and though he wept and implored to be informed of their fate, his prosecutors would not deign to relieve his agonizing apprehensions.

The Convention, as soon as Louis had departed, became a scene of savage tumult. The more violent Jacobins, fearing that the calm dignity of their intended victim might create reaction among the multitude, demanded his instant condemnation. One of their number, Duhesme, made a motion that the King should be executed that very night; but it was decided by the majority that he should be previously heard at length, and that counsel should be allowed him. Target, from fear or disinclination, refused the office conferred on him; but the venerable and honest Malesherbes voluntarily undertook it. "I have been twice called," said he, "to the council of him who was once my master, at a time when office was an object of ambition:—I owe him the same duties now that his service is attended with peril." Malesherbes and Tronchet associated with them the learned and eloquent De Sèze; and though without hope of saving the life of their

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client, exerted themselves to the utmost to shew that the accusations against him were groundless, and that his persecution was contrary to law and to justice.

The King's final hearing took place on the 26th of December. De Sèze, in a speech which was rendered more affecting and impressive by the absence of oratorical display, and of all appeals to the passions or feelings of his auditors, pronounced the defence, to which Louis himself added a few words of manly remonstrance against the course pursued by those who sought to shed his blood. The Monarch was then remanded to the Temple, and a long and stormy debate ensued among his judges. The Jacobins clamorously demanded that the votes should be taken immediately; but this the Girondists, who wished to save the life of the prisoner, strenuously opposed. In the midst of the uproar Lanjuinais arose, and, with an animation and courage such as he had never before displayed, charged the Mountainists themselves with instigating and conducting the insurrection of the 10th of August, in order that they might have an opportunity to accuse the King of opposing the people. This bold speech occasioned the most furious gesticulations and outcries amongst those whom it denounced. "Let the despot's friends die with him!" vociferated a hundred voices. "To prison—to the scaffold with the traitor who dares to slander the victors of the 10th of August." The immovable firmness of Lanjuinais, however, overawed his enemies. He calmly replied to their threats. "It were better to die innocent, than incur the guilt of passing an unjust sentence." Still Robespierre, and a few of his friends, continued to call for instant judgment. "Is it for a people," asked St. Just, "who have declared war against all tyrants, to be tender of the life of their own?" Robespierre added, "The case has been already decided by the unanimous voice of the supreme and virtuous people, and it only remains for the Convention, as their representatives, to execute their will." Eventually, the King was declared guilty by a large majority; but when the question of his sentence was discussed, his counsel lodged an appeal to the nation, which was ably supported by several Girondist Deputies; and, among others, by Vergniaud, who had presided in the Convention during the insurrection of the 10th of August. This speaker alleged, that the people, in the Confederation of the Champ de Mars, had sworn to

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maintain the Constitution, the Law, and the King inviolate, and that the Convention had no power to release them from that obligation. In reply to the assertions of the Jacobins, that an appeal to the nation would lead to civil war, he urged that the Jacobins, who threatened with daggers the Convention itself, and openly propounded in the Tribune doctrines subversive of social order, wished for civil war. "It is they," he said, "who accuse Justice of pusillanimity, because she will not strike before conviction; who adduce the exercise of common humanity as a proof of conspiracy; and charge all who will not join in acts of robbery and assassination as traitors to their country." The appeal was rejected by a majority of one hundred and forty votes.

The next proceeding was to pass sentence. The sitting in which this question was discussed lasted upwards of forty hours. One end of the hall had been furnished with boxes like a theatre: these were occupied chiefly by female revolutionists, who sat as at an entertainment, and were served with ices, oranges, and liqueurs, receiving and returning the salutations of the Deputies as they went and came. The galleries above were filled with men and women of the lowest class, who drank wine and brandy, jested, laughed, and made bets as to the issue of the trial.

The Girondists still endeavoured to save the King. They proposed that he should remain a prisoner till the proclamation of a general peace; but the Jacobins would hear of no compromise, and declared, that if Louis was not condemned by the Assembly, they would themselves go to the Temple, destroy him and his family, and add to the massacre all who might seek to oppose them. When the votes were called, the most intense anxiety prevailed on all sides. The fate of the nation was universally believed to depend on the issue. A murmur pervaded the Chamber, but it seemed to arise from whispers, and gave solemnity to the scene. When the Duke of Orleans, or, as he was then called, Citizen Philippe Egalité, was asked for his vote, there was a deep unbroken silence, and all eyes were turned on the degenerate prince; but when he answered, "*Death!*" there ran a suppressed cry of horror through the hall. At length the President announced, that of seven hundred and twenty-one members, three hundred and seventy-one had voted for Louis Capet's death. The

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advocates who had defended the King again appeared at the bar, and endeavoured to arrest execution of the sentence, on account of the smallness of the majority. But they were interrupted by a fierce Jacobin, who exclaimed, "Decrees are passed by a simple majority."—"True," replied a voice from the opposite side, "and decrees may be amended; but the life of a man cannot be recalled." Malesherbes attempted to speak, but sobs choked his utterance; and the Assembly could only gather his sentiments from his imploring looks and disconnected ejaculations. The triumphant Jacobins, however, had no remorse.

His sentence was announced to Louis by his voluntary defender, who found him sitting in darkness, absorbed in profound meditation. The King, roused by his entrance, arose, and said, "I have been endeavouring for the last two hours to recollect, whether at any time, during my reign, I have merited the ill-will of my subjects. I assure you, my friend, in all sincerity of heart, and as a man about to appear before God, that I have constantly desired the welfare of my people." He begged Malesherbes not to abandon him in his last moments, but to return and afford him the consolation of his presence; which the good old man promised, and repeatedly endeavoured, but was unable, to perform. Louis further entreated the assistance of a confessor, and to be permitted to take leave of his wife and children; requests which, after some hesitation, were granted.

His last interview with his family seems to have been the final struggle of his feelings; from that time he was calm and resigned. He charged Cléry, his faithful valet-de-chambre, with his last adieus, and with all that his inexorable gaolers permitted him to dispose of—a ring, a seal, and some hair. This was on the morning of the 21st of January, 1793, the day appointed for his execution. The guillotine had been erected in the Place Louis XV. The road thither was guarded by a double line of soldiers, to repress any attempt of the citizens at a rescue. Louis ascended the scaffold with a firm step, and after receiving the blessing of his confessor (a member of the talented Irish family of Edgeworth), he attempted to address the crowd of spectators which was gathered in the square; but at this instant the drums were ordered to beat, and the three executioners seized him. As the instrument of death descended, the priest, raising his hands to heaven, fer-

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vently exclaimed, "Son of St. Louis, ascend to Heaven!" and, a moment afterwards, the King had ceased to exist. A ruffian, who was present, tasted the blood, and exclaimed, with a brutal grimace, that it was "shockingly bitter."

The character of Louis XVI. has been given by an author, distinguished as an apologist of the Revolution. "He was the best but weakest of monarchs," says Mignet; "and his reign of sixteen years and a half was passed in endeavouring to do good. The Revolution was an inheritance bequeathed to him by his ancestors. He was, perhaps, the only prince who had not even a passion for power, and who united the qualities of a good King—a love of God and of his people. He perished, the victim of passions which he did not share, and which he had not excited. There are few kings who have left behind them so excellent a memory. With a little more strength of mind, he would have been a model for constitutional sovereigns."

The execution of the King disgusted the moderate Republicans in France, and augmented the number of her external enemies. The French Envoy in London was dismissed, the British Minister recalled from Paris, and war declared against the Revolutionary Government. Spain, which had withdrawn from the Coalition, rejoined it. Russia, Holland, Naples, and the Pope—all denounced the sanguinary act of the Jacobins, and declared their resolution to punish its perpetrators. Immense armies were accordingly raised by the Allied Powers, and marched to the frontiers of France, while the English navy blockaded her ports, and crippled her commerce. The Convention ordered a levy of three hundred thousand men, to defend the Republic. In the meantime anarchy was spreading through the country. The self-constituted authority of the Assembly was not universally recognised; or, if admitted on unobjectionable matters, it was generally rejected on others. The Girondists, defeated in their efforts to save the King, and to establish the Republic without bloodshed, took no pains to conceal their apprehensions of the ulterior designs of the Jacobins, to whom they attributed the most sordid and selfish motives, and whom they charged with instigating the daily increase of crime in all parts of the Republic. With the members of the Government thus at war among themselves, whole classes of the population proscribed, justice openly set at defiance by those who pretended to be its con-

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servators, and the nation threatened with invasion, little security for persons or property could be hoped for. Every one, therefore, seemed to feel at liberty to act according to his ability, and to defend himself or attack his neighbour, as either might best answer the purpose of the moment. Assassinations became frequent. The ordinary course of law being perverted, men took vengeance into their own hands, till fear, distrust, and familiarity with wrong and violence, goaded almost every one to a species of madness. The Royalists and Constitution-alists poniarded the Jacobins, who were not slow to execute similar atrocities upon their enemies. Pillage became fashionable, being advocated indeed even in the Convention by the infamous Marat, who accused the merchants of Paris and the Departments, "the aristocracy of the middle classes," with attempting to raise the price of food. The fanaticism of the period appears as incomprehensible as it was terrible: yet the "Reign of Terror" can scarcely be said to have commenced.

Uncertainty with respect to the part which the army might be disposed to take, contributed, for a time, to prevent any attempt at concentrating a party in opposition to the Government. Dumouriez, after having compelled the Duke of Brunswick to recross the Rhine, had invaded the Flemish territory, and by the victory of Jemappes secured the conquest of Belgium. He was at the head of an army of upwards of seventy thousand men, and a declaration of his sentiments was earnestly looked for by each party as likely to operate decisively on the nation. Instead, however, of pursuing an honest and steady course, Dumouriez entered into a series of intrigues, and exhibited a desire to avail himself of his position to become Dictator of the Republic. This being discovered, his influence was undermined by the Commissioners sent to attend his army; and, eventually, when he sought to arouse his soldiers to action, he found himself in a similar situation to that of La Fayette some time before, and was obliged to fly for refuge to the camp of the Austrians.

To the Royalists and Constitutionalists no resource now remained, save the dreadful expedients by which power had been attained by the Jacobins — insurrections of the people. In La Vendée, a general rising among the bold and hardy peasantry, was organized by Cathelineau and Stofflet, two men of humble birth, and Charette,

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a naval officer. They attacked and defeated the gens-d'armes, who endeavoured to repress them, sounded the tocsin throughout the country, and in a short time were supported by all the available force of nine hundred communes, and numbered in their ranks several of the most influential of the nobility and gentry of the province. The troops of the line and National Guards, sent against them by the Convention, were beaten. Marcé, Gauvilliers, Quetineau, and Ligonier, who marched from different points with orders to suppress this formidable revolt, were successively overthrown and driven to flight, and the insurgents became masters of the district.

The news of these events contributed to stimulate the Convention to atrocities. The Jacobins declared the Convention permanent, and established a revolutionary tribunal of twelve members, called "The Committee of Public Safety." To this body were delegated powers of life and death, without jury or appeal. The opposition of the Girondists to this worse than Inquisition, served but to endanger their personal safety, and to hasten the ruin of their party. Robespierre at once denounced Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Pétion, and Gensonné, as enemies of the Republic; and Marat, in a newspaper which he conducted, called upon the people of the departments to send to the capital "the thunder of petitions and accusations against all unfaithful delegates." The mob thus excited, besieged, from day to day, the Hall of the Convention itself, dictated to the members how they should vote, and maltreated all who dared to act independently. At length it was resolved, as the easiest method, to get rid of the Girondists in a body. Accordingly, on the 31st of May, the Jacobin leaders summoned their ready satellites, the National Guard and the rabble, to purge the Legislature. Early in the morning of that day, the tocsin was sounded, the *générale* beat, and the insurrectionary force marched towards the Tuilleries, where, for some time the Convention had sat. The cannon of the National Guard was pointed upon the Hall, and one gun fired, to intimidate the members. A few remonstrated against this outrage. Thuriot demanded that the Committee of Twelve should be suppressed. Tallien opposed this, saying, that "the sword of the law ought to be raised to smite the conspirators in the bosom of the Convention." Vergniaud proposed that all the members should bind themselves by an oath to die at their posts.

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The day passed in noisy discussions, and nothing was decided; the mob refraining from violence, only because their leaders were in the Hall. The next day passed in nearly the same manner; but on the 2nd of June, the assembled crowd became furious, and insisted that something decisive should be done. "The people," said Henriot, to the President of the Convention, when asked what was demanded, "the people are not risen to listen to phrases. They demand that at least twenty-four criminals be given up to them."—"Let us all surrender to them," exclaimed a Girondist. Henriot returned to his followers with flashing eyes and flushed countenance, and shouted, "Cannoniers, to your guns!" Marat finally mounted the tribune, and denounced the required number of victims, who were forthwith delivered to the multitude, and led to prison, whence about three months afterwards twenty-two of them were conducted to the guillotine. The remaining members of the Gironde fled from Paris, and the party, in the Convention, became extinct. These proceedings were followed by insurrections throughout the country. The inhabitants of Normandy, Brittany, Lyons, Marseilles, Bourdeaux, Toulon, and upwards of sixty departments, armed themselves against the Convention, and the "Reign of Terror" commenced.

A young and beautiful girl, named Charlotte Corday, a native of Caen, resolved to punish Marat, who, as the leader of the insurrection of the 2nd of June, was considered the author of these calamities. She travelled on foot to Paris, obtained admission to the house of the demagogue, and stabbed him to the heart. Her heroic motives are explained in her answers to the interrogatories of the revolutionary tribunal. "I killed Marat to put an end to the troubles of France. It was he who corrupted her, and proscribed the Deputies of the people. I have killed one man, to save a hundred thousand; a depraved wretch, to save the innocent; a ferocious monster, to procure peace to my country." Her appearance and behaviour at her trial so captivated a young republican, named Lux, that he entreated and obtained permission to share her fate at the guillotine. Marat, after his death, was honoured, for a while, by the Jacobins as one of "the great men of the nation!"

The insurrectionary movements throughout the provinces, the advance of the Allies, the defeat of the French armies upon the

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Rhine and at the Pyrenees, threatened the Convention with speedy annihilation. Its members, however, having no hope of safety in retreat, were compelled to pursue their career. They framed a new Constitution, expressly to establish the supreme power of the multitude, but it was found incapable of working, and was, therefore, never acted upon. A law for the arrest and punishment of all suspected persons was passed. All Frenchmen from eighteen to twenty-five years of age were called upon to take arms in defence of the Republic; the armies were recruited by large levies of men, and contributions of provisions were raised for their support. By these means, the troops on the frontiers soon amounted to twelve hundred thousand men; and six thousand soldiers and a thousand artillerymen were appointed to guard the interior. "The whole country," says Mignet, "became a camp and workshop for republicans, and a prison for their opponents." In order to ascertain the opinions of the people, certificates of citizenship were granted by the Jacobins, to their known adherents; and every poor citizen of Paris was allowed forty sous a day, that he might be enabled, without inconvenience, to neglect his proper business, and assist in the incessant debates of the Sectionary Assemblies. The public functionaries were subjected to the surveillance of the Clubs, and revolutionary committees were established in every district where the authority of the Convention was recognised.

This activity led to important results. The insurrection of Normandy was easily quelled: the insurgents, led by members of the Gironde party, themselves republicans, had merely armed to restore their deputies to power, and finding this hopeless, they submitted to the Commissioners of the Convention at Caen. This was the first triumph of the Jacobins since the so called "purification" of the Legislature. In the south, General Cartaux defeated the Marseillais Royalists, and drove them into Toulon, where, by the assistance of the British Admiral, Hood, and a body of Spanish auxiliaries, they were enabled to maintain themselves for a considerable time. It was in the siege of this city, that the military talents of Napoleon first became conspicuous. The details belong to his personal history, Lyons, after a well-sustained siege, surrendered to General Kellerman. The Vendéans, after losing their able chief, Cathelineau, in an

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unsuccessful attempt to capture the city of Nantes, were compelled to retreat into their own territory, and act on the defensive; and, eventually, being totally defeated in four successive engagements, they resolved to retire into Brittany, where they expected to be supported by a body of English troops, and a general rising of the inhabitants. They were pursued, however, by the victorious Republicans, and after two or three battles, were defeated with dreadful slaughter at Mons, by Generals Westerman, Marceau, and Kleber. Fifteen thousand men, women, and children perished in this battle and the massacre by which it was followed. The remnant was again encountered at Savenay, and almost wholly destroyed. The Committee of Public Safety ordered the utter extermination of the Vendéans, and sent General Thurreau, with a large army, to execute the command. Twelve divisions of soldiers, known as the *Infernal Columns*, ravaged the country. The houses were consigned to the flames, the inhabitants subjected to violation and massacre, the cattle houghed and slaughtered, and the crops burnt and destroyed. At Pillau, they forced all the women and children they could find into heated ovens. "At the towns of St. Herman, Chantonay, and Herbiers," says an eye-witness, "I did not see a single living male. A few females alone had escaped the sword. Country-seats, cottages, all kinds of habitations, were in ruins. At night the wavering and dismal blaze of conflagration lighted the whole country; and to the bleating of disturbed flocks, and the bellowing of affrighted kine, were joined the hoarse croaking of the carrion-crow, and the deep bark of the wolf, coming forth to prey on the carcasses of the dead, which lay unburied by the roadside and in the fields." These horrible severities succeeded for a time in suppressing the civil war in La Vendée; but they excited in the breasts of those who escaped a deep and unquenchable hatred towards all revolutionists: a feeling which has not been eradicated by the lapse of nearly fifty years.

During these events, the armies of invasion had also been defeated, and driven beyond the frontiers. The Allies were beaten by Jourdan, in the North; by Hoche and Pichegru, on the Moselle; and by Kellerman, on the Alps. The new generals were appointed by the Jacobins; and the able Carnot, who was unstained by crime, directed the Republican campaigns.

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In the meantime, the Committee of Public Safety directed vengeance to be taken on the defeated Royalists of Lyons, Bourdeaux, and Marseilles. The Commissioners of Execution at Lyons, were Couthon, Fouché, and Collot d'Herbois; the last having solicited the office to gratify his personal hatred against the inhabitants, who had formerly hissed him from the stage, in his capacity of an itinerant actor. The instructions and authority of these men amply protected them in the commission of any conceivable atrocity. The principal streets, squares, and public buildings were to be levelled with the ground, and the name of the city changed to that of Ville-Affranchie; while all the inhabitants, who had taken part in the revolt, were to be put to death, to avenge what was called the murder of Chalier, a Jacobin officer, who had threatened to "make one fagot of three hundred Lyonnais, and deliver them at once to the guillotine!" The ordinary process of the tribunals, summary as were those of the Revolution, were too slow for the Commissioners of Lyons, who therefore thought of a more speedy mode of despatching their victims. They caused them to be dragged, three or four hundred at a time, to one of the largest squares in the city and fired upon with grape shot; despatching those who survived the cannonade with bayonets and sabres. The bodies of the dead were thrown into the Rhone, in order, D'Herbois affirmed, to intimate at Toulon, which had not yet been captured, the nature of republican vengeance. At Marseilles and Bourdeaux, similar scenes were enacted; while at Nantes, Cambray, and Arras, the cruelties were, if possible, more aggravated by the demoniac ingenuity of Joseph Lebon and Carrier. At Nantes, especially, several boat loads of young men and women, stripped and tied together, were sunk in the river to celebrate "a Republican marriage." The municipal officers and inhabitants of several towns were shot by way of sport, as they came out to meet the troops and Commissioners to tender their submission. "The whole country," says Hazlitt, "seemed one vast conflagration of revolt and vengeance. The shrieks of death were blended with the yell of the assassin and the laughter of buffoons."

The accounts of the massacres in the provinces were received with so much applause in the capital, and conferred such immense popularity on the Commissioners who directed them, that the Convention thought its own glory would be eclipsed unless it adopted similar measures

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to secure its credit and gratify the Parisian rabble with the actual sight of a few of those marvels of crime, the mere recital of which had created such earnest admiration. The unfortunate Queen of Louis XVI. was at this time sent to the scaffold in Paris, from mere wantonness and lust of bloodshed. Her accusation contained charges too gross for repetition, and utterly incredible; but had there been no accusation at all, her condemnation was resolved on for the reasons before alluded to, and for the hatred borne her by the revolutionists for her courage, and for the unyielding spirit of regal dignity which she had exhibited in every stage of her misfortunes. She was beheaded on the 16th of October, 1793, in the thirty-ninth year of her age. Her many sorrows had already turned her hair to grey. The Princess Elizabeth, sister to Louis, was beheaded in May, 1794. The Dauphin, Louis XVII., was given in charge to a shoemaker, named Simon, who, by the direction of his employers, treated him with such severity, in order to get rid of him, that he died on the 8th of June, 1795. The Princess Royal was subsequently delivered from captivity; and still lives, the wife of the thrice exiled Duke d'Angoulême.

Twenty-two of the Girondist Deputies, whom Marat had denounced on the 2nd of June, were brought to the bar on the 30th of October, 1793. They appear to have been prepared for their approaching fate. La Source, when his sentence was pronounced, replied to his judges, "I am about to die at a time when the people have lost their reason: you will die the moment they recover it." The death of Bailly, formerly Mayor of Paris, whose proclamation of martial law in the Champ de Mars had not been forgotten, followed the execution of the "twenty-two;" and Bailly's decapitation was succeeded by that of the regicide Duke of Orleans, who had been for some time suspected of aspiring to the throne, since occupied by his son, Louis-Philippe. Madame Roland, the accomplished wife of a member of the last ministry of Louis XVI., suffered death in the beginning of November. She was accompanied to the scaffold by a man named Lamarche, director of assignat printing, whose dejection she endeavoured to cheer. Arrived there, to use the expressive phraseology of Mr. Carlyle, she asked for pen and paper to write the strange thoughts that were rising within her; a remarkable request, which

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was refused. Looking at the statue of Liberty which stood in the square, she exclaimed bitterly, "O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" For Lamarche's sake she would suffer first, to shew him how easy it was to die. "It is contrary to the order," said Samson, the executioner. "Nay," replied the courageous woman, "you cannot refuse the last request of a lady;" whereupon Samson yielded. The scene was spoken of by the bystanders, who had become amateurs in cruelty, as a magnificent spectacle. "What sense, what wit, what courage, the scaffold sustained in Madame Roland!" Her husband, hearing of her death, quitted his place of concealment, and committed suicide in the high-road.

From this period, to the death of Robespierre, who was now at the head of the Government, the torrent of terror continued to roll on, and gather strength in its progress. The guillotine was almost ceaselessly at work. The public accusers, the members of the Tribunal, and the executioners, knew no holiday, had no pause nor relaxation. "The enemies of the Republic," exclaimed Robespierre, "must be destroyed, or we shall perish! The enemies of liberty must be subdued by terror. The Government of the Revolution is the despotism of freedom arrayed against tyranny!" The good and the bad shared an awful equality in these times of systematic murder. "Vanquished enemies are not secure," said Barrère. "There are none but the dead who do not return!"—"The more the social body perspires," added D'Herbois, "the healthier it becomes!"—"Dilatoriness," exclaimed Couthon, "is a crime. Every indulgent formality is full of public danger. The only delay that ought to be allowed in the punishment of our enemies, is the time occupied in their discovery!" The accused were, therefore, tried in multitudes, and not allowed to be heard in their defence; and even thus a single tribunal was found insufficient. Three others were established; the number of judges was augmented, and empowered to act, without law or jury, upon the dictates of their consciences. Neither sex nor age was spared; all classes, all sects, were subjected to the test of the guillotine; till men, and women also, ceased to stand in awe of death, but frequently invoked it as a refuge. All kinds of actions, and even want of action, were declared crimes, at the discretion of individuals. The number of persons arrested, between September, 1792, and August, 1794, has been computed at upwards of three

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH OF

hundred thousand, one-third of whom are said to have been women. Among those who perished it is necessary to record the names of the good Malesherbes, and the learned and scientific Barthelemy Lavoisier, Nicolai, and Gilbert de Voisin. Some were executed simply because they were wealthy, and the Committee of Safety wanted money. Magon, when carried before the Tribunal, and asked his name, replied, "I am rich!" and disdained to say more. All that could excite envy by their reputation for genius, virtue, or patriotism, unless they were Terrorists, were sacrificed to the madness of the period. Natural ties and affections were outraged in mere wanton cruelty. Whole families were slaughtered for their relationship to proscribed persons or emigrants. Sisters for shedding tears at the fate of their brothers, wives for lamenting their murdered husbands; one woman for merely saying, as a group was led to the scaffold, "Much blood seems to be shed for trifling causes."

The presiding demon of this desolating storm was Maximilian Robespierre, a lawyer of Arras, the "Inflexible" and "Incorruptible," as he was called in the Jacobin clubs, and among the rabble. He sustained himself as a leader by absolute want of the requisite qualifications for his post. His talents were not of an order to dazzle or excite envy; his personal cowardice was well known; his want of individual sympathy and fellowship had, at the commencement of his career, frequently placed him in juxtaposition with each of the rival parties; his unostentatious mode of life, and contempt of wealth and luxury, covered him, like a mantle, with an external appearance of patriotic and purely republican virtue. He obtained his elevation with the consent of all, because all had separate hopes of being able to govern him. He had been extolled by each party, till the mob believed him to be what he was proclaimed; and when fear drove him to the commission of the most remorseless cruelties, and he began to be publicly exclaimed against, the "poor and virtuous people," as he cantingly termed the *canaille*, believed that his enemies merely sought his fall from factious motives. The continuance of the Reign of Terror, however, in the end affrighted even those who were originally pleased with its novelty.

Danton was the first who ventured to remonstrate against the proceedings of the Committee of Safety. He declared, that it was time

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

to distinguish between the innocent and the guilty.”—“And who told you,” asked the callous Robespierre, “that an innocent person has suffered?” Danton, turning with a sneer to a friend near him, exclaimed, “What sayest thou? Not an innocent person has perished!” From that time, there was no association between Danton and Robespierre; and the latter, dreading the influence of his opponent, sought to destroy him.

In the meantime, the Convention, or rather the Revolutionary Committee, which arrogated to itself all power, was desirous of honouring the Republic with an era of its own. The Christian calendar was abolished, and an entirely new one substituted. The decade superseded the week, and the tenth day the sabbath. The year was divided into twelve equal months of thirty days each, taking its date from the 22nd of September, 1792, the period of founding the Republic. The five supernumerary days required for the actual year, were placed at the end, and, under the designation of *Sans-Culottides*, were consecrated, according to the revolutionary ritual, to the festivals of *Genius, Labour, Deeds, Rewards, and Opinion*. The Commune of Paris established a new kind of worship—that of “reason and nature,” or absolute atheism. The Bishop of Paris was compelled to abjure Christianity at the bar of the Convention, and assent to a decree that the Catholic religion should give place to that of “reason.” The churches were shut up, or transformed into heathen temples, most of the scenes exhibited in which are too scandalous and disgusting to narrate. In one, the ridiculous was carried to its extreme. An immoral opera dancer was installed as Goddess of Reason, and received the homage of the public authorities, and a vast concourse of easy converts. Marriage was reduced to a civil contract, which the parties who formed it were at liberty to annul at pleasure. “The impudence of vice, the audacity of wickedness, the emulation of licence, even to the most unbridled dissoluteness,” says Marmontel, “were openly professed, and constituted Republican morality.”

This utter depravity could not and did not last. Danton, and his friend Camille Desmoulins, made no secret of their scorn and contempt for such degrading and senseless follies. They had been violent and cruel during the struggle with monarchy; but they had desired to destroy despotism, not to place it in other and worse hands.

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH OF

Danton, in the Convention, and Desmoulins, in his journal, 'The Old Cordelier,' attacked the ferocious system pursued by the tribunals and that of public atheism, which were undermining whatever remained of social order in the country. These attempts, however, to bring the nation back to reason and mercy, afforded Robespierre his desired opportunity of sacrificing the man whose rivalry he feared. Danton was misrepresented in the Clubs, and denounced in the Convention; and, disdaining to save himself by flight, or to resort to the usual artifice of turning the popular indignation against his accusers, he suffered himself to be arrested, and a few days afterwards was dragged to the scaffold, with Desmoulins, and several of his friends. At the place of execution, he prophetically exclaimed, "We are sacrificed to the ambition of a few cowardly brigands, but they will not long enjoy their triumph. I drag Robespierre after me. I was the only man who had influence enough to save him." He was right. When Robespierre began to act independently, his weakness and folly were at once perceived, and contemned. It was then resolved by the friends of Danton, to attempt his overthrow. He soon furnished them with an opportunity. Seeing that a party, which daily grew stronger, had sprung up in the Clubs, the Convention, and the Committee of Safety, Robespierre mounted the tribune to denounce his enemies as those of the Republic, and avowed his intention to crush all factions "lest the State should be endangered." When he had ceased, Cambon arose, and said, "It is time to speak out. A single individual has paralyzed the National Convention—this is Robespierre!" Several other speakers urged the same argument; and the Dictator that day left the Assembly with a conviction, that if he failed to "purify" the Government immediately, his own death was at hand.

Next morning, the 27th of July, 1794, the meeting of the Convention was fuller and earlier than usual. Robespierre took his seat in front of the tribune; and at noon, his friend, St. Just, commenced an harangue. "I am about," he said, "to lift the veil."—"It must be torn asunder!" said Tallien, interrupting him. Billaud Varennes stated, that on the previous evening a scheme was debated among the Jacobins, to massacre the members of the Convention. "I see," he added, "one of the assassins among the Mountainists."—"Let him be arrested!" exclaimed a hundred voices. "The Convention," con-

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

tinued Billaud, "is placed in the most eminent peril, and if it be irresolute it will perish." He then denounced Robespierre by name, and presented a list of his accomplices. The terrified and trembling Dictator, unable to restrain his emotion, rushed to the tribune, but was driven thence by a loud and general cry of "Down with the tyrant!" Tallien followed Billaud Varennes, and, drawing forth a dagger, declared that, if the Convention had not sufficient courage to decree the despot's accusation, he would himself avenge the injured Republic. Robespierre repeatedly attempted to speak, but the Assembly would not hear him; and he at length sunk into his seat exhausted with rage and fear. "Miserable man," cried a Deputy, near him, who observed foam on his livid lips, "the blood of Danton stifles thee!" About four o'clock, the Convention unanimously decreed the arrest of the two Robespierres, St. Just, Couthon, Le Bas, and Henriot, who were forthwith delivered to the gendarmerie, and conducted to the Luxembourg.

The Commune of Paris, knowing that its own existence depended on that of Robespierre, ordered a rescue, which was speedily effected by the mob, and the Dictator was conveyed to the Hôtel de Ville in triumph. Henriot placed himself at the head of the revolutionary guard, and the Hall of the Convention was surrounded with cannon. The Assembly, however, was not overawed. It had no safety but in victory; and, with courage gathered from despair, it outlawed Henriot, and its Members resolved to die at their posts. The cannoniers, tired of anarchy, when ordered to fire, refused to obey their commanders; but, at the direction of the Legislature, received Barras as their chief, and returned to besiege the Commune. Henriot fled, to inform his accomplices of their danger; and Robespierre, to avoid public execution, attempted to blow out his brains, but his hand was too unsteady even for suicide, and the bullet merely shattered his jaw-bone. Le Bas was more successful, and died by his own hand. The younger Robespierre threw himself from a third-story window, but survived his fall. In a few minutes, the Dictator, stretched on a litter, was on his way to the prison of the Conciergerie; whence, at about five o'clock in the evening of the 28th of July, he was borne on a tumbril, with Henriot, Couthon, St. Just, and his brother, to the place of execution.

SKETCH OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

The head of him who had, for nearly two years, governed France was now bound with a dirty cloth, his eyes were sunk, and his face ghastly. An immense crowd pressed round, and congratulated each other. The procession paused opposite his house, in the Rue St. Honoré, when a group of women formed a circle, and danced around him. One, says Mr. Carlyle, sprung upon his tumbril, and waving her hand over him, exclaimed, "Thy death gladdens my very heart. Go down to hell, with the curses of all wives and mothers!" He was carried on to the scaffold last. Samson wrenched the bandage from his jaw, which instantly fell powerless, and drew forth a cry of agony. When the head of the monster fell, shout upon shout of applause burst from the multitude, and was echoed throughout Paris, and speedily repeated in every corner of liberated France.

The restoration of order, although not the work of a moment, was at once commenced by the victors—called, from the period of their success, the *Thermidoriens*. The tribunals and committees were gradually suppressed; and eventually the day of the Sections, the 13th Vendemiaire (4th October), 1795, gave a new character to the Revolution, and connected its further details inseparably with the history of Napoleon. Society, in the meanwhile, passed from a state of turbulence to tranquillity, from constant public agitation to the duties of private life. Labour supplanted rapine, and the rich and industrious were no longer subjected to the dominion of the ignorant, the idle, and the dissolute. Perhaps, much good had been accomplished by breaking the fetters of absolutism, and destroying the illusions of a millennium; but much evil remained in the unsettling of faith and the confusion of ideas concerning liberty, religion, morality, and social obligations.

HISTORY OF NAPOLEON.

CHAPTER I.

THE FAMILY OF BONAPARTE—BIRTH OF NAPOLEON—BOYHOOD—MILITARY
EDUCATION—FIRST COMMISSION. 1769—1785.

THE Bonapartes of Corsica were descended from a noble Italian family, which, during the middle ages, had frequently supplied senators to the Republics of Florence, Bologna, and San Miniato, and was allied to the houses of Medici, Orsini, and Lomellini.

Becoming impoverished, however, during the struggles between the Guelph and Ghibelline factions, which for so long a period distracted Italy, and desolated its chief cities and states, a younger branch of the family had retired to Corsica, where its high extraction would probably have been soon forgotten, but for the circumstances which were destined to give an extraordinary interest to everything connected with so memorable a name. Napoleon himself had little reverence for the pride of ancestry; and when, during the consulate, it was sought to flatter him with a genealogy which traced his family from a line of kings, he treated the matter with the ridicule it merited, and ended by observing, that the patent of his nobility was dated

FAMILY.

from the battle of Montenotte. The indifference of mankind to the glory which has no better source than heraldic fame, warrants us in treating the subject in a similar manner.

Charles Bonaparte, the head of the expatriated family, having studied for the law at Rome and Pisa, settled at Ajaccio, as an advocate of Session, and was married to Lætitia Ramolino, a Corsican lady of Neapolitan extraction, of whom he appears to have become enamoured, as much for her courage and the energy and decision of her character, as for her great beauty and accomplishments. They were united about the time of the commencement of the struggle of the Islanders, under Paoli, to maintain the independence of Corsica from the domination of France; and, taking part with the patriots, were involved in all the troubles and vicissitudes of that gallant but unsuccessful band. When the French troops took possession of Ajaccio, Paoli and his little army retreated to the mountains in the

centre of the island. Thither Charles Bonaparte was followed by his wife, then scarcely eighteen, and an infant son, Joseph, who had been born on the 7th of January, 1768. Lætitia is said not only to have shared the ordinary dangers of military life with her husband,

BIRTH.

but to have accompanied him on horseback in some of his expeditions, even when a second time about to become a mother. As the period of her travail, however, drew near, she sought and obtained a safe conduct to return to Ajaccio, in order that her child might be born in a place of security.

On the 15th of August, being the Feast of the Assumption, in the year 1769, Madame Bonaparte, whose bodily as well as mental vigour was scarcely to be surpassed, was desirous of participating in the solemnities of the mass, and attended church for that purpose; but, being seized with her pangs during the service, she was compelled to hasten home, and, before she could be conveyed to her chamber, was delivered of a son, upon an old-fashioned carpet representing at full length some of the heroes of antiquity. This was the future hero of a hundred battles—**NAPOLEON.**

There has been much idle speculation about the name conferred upon the infant: it appears, however, that Napoleon was a name which had been borne by the second sons of the same family for several generations, having been a distinguished one among the Bonapartes of San Miniato, to whose care the education of the children of the Corsican branch had usually been entrusted from the period of their first emigration. In the Greek Calendar there had also been a saint of that name, to whom, nevertheless, so little homage had been paid, that his place was no longer retained, nor could the date of his festival be ascertained. It was the fortune of

CHILDHOOD.

Napoleon Bonaparte to make the name an imperishable one; and, when he had effected this, the Pope, in compliment to him, restored his namesake, *St. Napoleon des Ursins*, to a post among the canonized, assigning to him the 15th of August, the birth-day of the victorious soldier, and that on which he had signed the Concordat, for a festival: thus, as one of his biographers observes, according to the *protégé* the rare honour of promoting the patron.

The childhood of Napoleon offers little beyond a few anecdotes indicative of his after character. He has related of himself that he was a wilful and inquisitive child; hardy, bold, and mischievous, quarrelling with, and making himself formidable to all his associates, especially to his brother Joseph, who, being older than he, was not at first disposed to submit to his caprices; but who was eventually bitten, beaten, scratched, abused, and misrepresented into subjection. His early education devolved upon his mother, who was a prudent and amiable, as well as a strong-minded woman, and who watched the progress and mental development of all her children with the utmost solicitude and tenderness. Hers, however, was not the foolish affection which prevents the detection of faults: she mingled severity with encouragement, punishment with reward; and rested her claims to their love on the understandings of her pupils. She insisted on obedience, abhorred falsehood in all its shapes, and suffered nothing to be eulogised in her presence that was not really elevating to a generous and informed mind. To her training he afterwards attributed the success of his career, and frequently insisted that "on the lessons of the mother depend the good or evil conduct of the child." He was a handsome but slovenly boy; and part of a song has been preserved, which is supposed to have been written in ridicule of the mixture of gallantry and carelessness exhibited in his person, and with which, it is said, he was frequently saluted by the children of his own age in the streets of Ajaccio:—

" Napoleone di mezzà calzetta,
Fa l'amore à Giacominetta."

At a very early age, Napoleon appears to have acquired that habit of studious reserve which he retained through life. His father had a summer retreat about a mile from Ajaccio, in the pleasant grounds of which, planted with the olive, the cactus, the clematis, and the

SCHOOL DAYS.

almond-tree, and overhung with the fig and the wild vine, was an isolated granite rock, with a natural grotto beneath, which looked out upon the sea. Hither Napoleon frequently came during his school vacations ; and, with or without a book, remained for hours together in solitary meditation. It has been eloquently remarked upon this, by Sir Walter Scott,—“How the imagination labours to form an idea of the visions which, in this sequestered spot, must have arisen before the eyes of the future hero !”

Through the interest of Count Marbœuf, the French Governor of Corsica, to whom, after the conquest of the island and the exile of Paoli, Charles Bonaparte had gradually become reconciled, and by whom he had been appointed to the honourable and lucrative situation of Assessor to the Tribunal of Ajaccio, Napoleon, in his tenth year, obtained an appointment to the Royal Military School of Brienne. Thither he was taken, through the Tuscan States, the south of France, and Paris, by his father, who formed one of a deputation from the government of Corsica to the Court of Versailles, in the spring of 1779. He entered this celebrated academy on the 23rd of April.

Of his school days a lively account has been given by M. de Bourrienne, his school-fellow and friend. In person he was remarkable for his dark Italian complexion, quick, penetrating eyes, and a head disproportioned to his diminutive body. He was also distinguished by his Corsican dialect, which was a source of frequent ridicule to his companions, who, from the manner in which he pronounced his name, as if written *Napoilloné*, were accustomed to call him *la paille au nez*. He set earnestly to work at his studies, however, and soon mastered the French language, and made considerable progress in history, geography, and mathematics. In classical and elegant literature he never acquired great proficiency, and at fifteen years old was still low on the fourth form in Latin ; being satisfied probably with the ability to read Plutarch, Tacitus, Polybius, and Arrian, his favourite authors. He was as fond of seclusion at Brienne as in Corsica, and generally kept aloof from the sports of the other students. He seemed averse to form attachments, and indeed, from various causes, came to entertain a dislike, almost amounting to disgust, towards all Frenchmen ; and was in turn derided by his French companions as the son of a Corsican attorney. He spoke warmly of Paoli, as a great

ENDURANCE.

man and a patriot, and was somewhat incensed against his father for having forsaken the fortunes of such a leader, and assented to the union of Corsica with France. With these sentiments, it will be readily conceived that his retorts were exceedingly bitter when the island of his birth was spoken of with scorn. But, if he had few friends, he does not appear to have had any enemies among his fellow-students. He made no complaints of their conduct towards himself, which at times was certainly flagrant, nor of their other transgressions, even when the duty devolved upon him of reporting violations of discipline. On one occasion, he preferred to suffer a confinement of three days rather than denounce a culprit. His chief amusements at this time consisted in the cultivation of a little plot of garden ground, of which one was assigned to every pupil, and in reading the numerous historical works with which the library of the school was stored.

MILITARY SPIRIT.

His early love for military life and adventure was evinced even when a child, his favourite plaything having been a brass model of a cannon; but it was more strongly manifested during the winter of 1783—4. The snow then lay upon the ground to the depth of six or eight feet, and necessarily deprived the students of their accustomed exercise and recreation; the only resource left being to promenade the great hall, and amuse themselves with in-door games, as they best might. As a means of escape from this monotonous life, it was proposed by Napoleon that they should clear passages through the snow in the great court-yard, dig trenches, erect horn-works, platforms, and parapets, and form a siege. The project was received with enthusiasm, and Napoleon at once unanimously appointed to direct the attacks. Brooms and shovels were put into immediate requisition, a fort was constructed, the scholars divided into regular platoons, and the mimic combat commenced. The siege was maintained during the play-hours for fifteen days; nor would it, perhaps, have then ceased, but that stones and gravel became mixed with the snow of which the balls were made, and several of the students, besiegers as well as besieged, were seriously hurt, when the principals thought it right to interfere and put an end to the diversion.

Of the pride and high spirit, and at the same time of the implicit obedience of Napoleon, the following incident, which occurred about this period, will afford an illustration. The quarter-master, for some

REMOVAL TO PARIS.

fault, had condemned Napoleon to wear a serge coat, and to dine on his knees at the door of the refectory. This public disgrace so stung the ardent and aspiring spirit of the young student, that he was seized with violent retching and hysterics. The principal of the school, who chanced to pass at the time, remitted the punishment, and reproved the tutor for his severity and want of discernment; and the professor of mathematics, Father Patrault, when informed of the circumstance, was greatly chagrined that his first mathematician should have been subjected to such humiliation. The person who inflicted the punishment appears to have been Pichegru, who was quarter-master at the time, and teacher of the four rules of arithmetic in the mathematical class. In after years, Pichegru had learned to form a sounder estimate of the character of his pupil; for when consulted by one of the Bourbons if means might not be devised to engage the Conqueror of Italy in the royal interest, he replied, "It will be a waste of time to attempt it. I knew him when a youth; his character is inflexible: he has taken his side, and will abide by it."

Father Patrault was proud of Napoleon's acquirements in the branch of study over which he presided; and it was probably owing in some measure to his recommendation that, in his fifteenth year, he was one of the five scholars selected by the Chevalier de Keralio, inspector of the military schools of France, to be passed to the military college at Paris to complete their education. This was no ordinary compliment to the proficiency of the young student, who had not even attained the requisite age; and when it was suggested by one of the masters, that he had better remain for another year, to afford time for further improvement in general learning, Keralio merely replied, "I know what I am about, and if I transgress the ordinary rules, it is not on account of family influence. I know nothing of the youth's friends, and am actuated only by my opinion of his talents. There is a spark of genius in him which cannot be too early fostered." In October, 1784, he accordingly proceeded to Paris, where he soon found that the college was conducted upon too expensive a scale to suit the circumstances of most of the king's scholars; and he therefore addressed a memorial to M. Berton, the sub-principal, complaining that, instead of improvement, the students derived from their residence only notions of vanity and a love of ostentation; so that, when required to enter

EDUCATION.

upon life or return to their homes, they were likely to be incapable of relishing the frugality of the camp, or the modest enjoyments of the domestic circle. This singular document concluded with a recommendation of reform; and proposed, that, instead of being allowed to retain numerous servants, each student should do what was necessary to personal convenience and cleanliness himself; that the usual dinner of two courses should be reduced to the rations

of the troops, and that such simple and sober habits only should be encouraged, as would tend to form the character of men destined for military service, enable them to maintain with steadiness the bearing of soldiers, to brave the inclemencies of the seasons, the changes

TUTORS.

of climate, and the fatigues of war ; and, above all, to inspire the men under their command with courage, confidence, and attachment. This was at the age of sixteen. The same opinions on the subject of military education accompanied him through life ; and formed the basis upon which he founded the several educational institutions for which France was indebted to him after he became Emperor.

He continued, while at Paris, to distinguish himself in the same classes as at Brienne, and, by at least one of his tutors, was as much misunderstood. M. Bauer, his German-master, considered his abilities to be of a very inferior order ; and when told that he was the first mathematician in the college, replied that "none but a fool could learn mathematics." L'Eguille, the professor of History, drew juster conclusions from his reflective disposition, and the solidity of his judgment ; and, in a report on the state of the students, appended to the name of Napoleon the following note :—"A Corsican by birth and character ; he will do much, if circumstances favour him." M. Domairon, professor of *Belles-Lettres*, astonished at the singularity of Napoleon's amplifications, is said to have compared them to "flaming granites poured from a volcano."

With both L'Eguille and Domairon, Napoleon afterwards preserved the intimacy which here had its commencement. When First Consul, he frequently invited the former to breakfast at Malmaison, and was accustomed to revert to the discussions which they had formerly held, on the merits of various historical characters ; and, among others, of the Constable de Bourbon, whose great and only crime Napoleon once characteristically declared to have been, "his coming with foreigners to wage war against his native country." Domairon, in 1802, became tutor to Jerome Bonaparte. It would be worth enquiry, whether M. Bauer lived long enough to enjoy the confirmation of his singular judgment.

The decision of tone and manner, and the vigour of intellect, indeed, which about this time began to be generally remarked, procured him the notice and friendship of the celebrated Abbé Raynal, to whose literary and scientific parties he was frequently invited, and with whom he discussed questions of history, politics, and legislation. To the same period also is referable the prediction of his great uncle Lucien, who, having assembled all his relations around his death-bed, addressed

COMMISSION.

himself to Joseph: "You," said he, "are the oldest, but Napoleon is the head of the family. You must always look up to him." This, as Napoleon afterwards observed, was a true disinheritance; it was a repetition of the scene of Esau and Jacob. Charles Bonaparte, who died on the 24th of February, 1785, always entertained and expressed a similar opinion of the pre-eminence of his second son.

In August, 1785, after less than a year's residence at Paris, Napoleon passed his examination under the great La Place; and obtained his first commission, as second lieutenant, in the artillery regiment *La Fère*, then quartered at Valence, in Dauphiny.

CHAPTER II.

NAPOLÉON'S FIRST LOVE—LITERARY EFFORTS—REVOLUTION—RECALL AND
TREACHERY OF PAOLI—TOULON. 1785—1793.

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landed proprietor, with its turrets, court-yard, and half-castellated massiveness and strength, constituted the marvel, as its inmates were the patrons and oracles, of the neighbourhood. News, such as was permitted to be publicly disseminated, travelled but slowly, and was necessarily limited to the educated classes,—a very small proportion of the aggregate population. An occasional letter, or the conversation of a visitor, formed the staple of information to be obtained beyond the precincts of the capital, on any but the most ordinary passing occurrences. The notions of the country people concerning political movements, or the affairs of government, were therefore of a vague and contradictory kind. Books, society, and field sports, were the only means of escape from a life of stagnation; and, to whichever of

SOCIETY.

these offered the newest species of excitement for the time being, recourse was eagerly had. At the period of which we are speaking, however, rumour had begun to be busy with matters of state, and military men derived additional consideration from the circumstance.

To the old-fashioned mansions and the pleasant converse of the gentry of Valence, and especially to his intercourse with the Colombier family, Napoleon often alluded in after years. Madame du Colombier was a lady of considerable acquirements, and was not long in discovering the high qualities of the young artillery officer, whom she took pleasure in introducing to the best circles in Valence and its neighbourhood. To these introductions, and the grade in society which they gave him, the future Emperor did not hesitate to ascribe

FIRST LOVE.

considerable influence in shaping his destiny; and to the experience which he then acquired of the moral influence exercised by the provincial landowners over the rural population, M. de Bourrienne attributes his constant desire, when he had attained power, to conciliate the affections of that class towards his government. One result of the intimacy then formed was a mutual attachment between Napoleon and Mademoiselle du Colombier, which seems to have partaken of all the romance and disinterestedness, if not of the fervour of first love. They walked and conversed in the garden and grounds belonging to the chateau; and got up one Midsummer morning at early dawn, expressly to share the felicity of eating cherries together. The young lady afterwards married M. de Bressieux, to whom, at her solicitation, Napoleon, when passing through Lyons on his way to be crowned King of Italy in 1805, gave a situation; and, for herself, procured the appointment of lady of honour to one of his sisters.

In the mess-room at Valence, and afterwards at Lyons, whither his battalion was removed on the breaking out of some disturbances, the comrades of Napoleon were young men who all became eminent under the empire. Among these he was distinguished for his extensive information, strong reasoning faculties, and a fund of ready and sparkling wit and eloquence. These qualifications added to the classical beauty of his countenance, the brilliance of his dark, deep-set eyes, the elegance of his slim, well-knit figure, and his agreeable manners, made him a general favourite, particularly with the ladies, many of whom appear to have predicted that his career would be an extraordinary one. Though constantly engaged in the gaieties of society, Napoleon found leisure at this time to compete for a literary prize at the Academy of Lyons, on the question, "What are the principles and institutions best calculated to advance mankind to the highest attainable happiness?" proposed by his old friend, the Abbé Raynal. This anonymous essay was successful; but is said to have embodied opinions and sentiments which he afterwards disavowed: of this, however, there is now no means of judging; as after he became Emperor, Talleyrand, to whom the incident was communicated in the course of conversation, procured the manuscript from the archives of the academy, and on presenting it to Napoleon, had the mortification, after the latter had glanced over a few pages,

REVOLUTION.

to see it thrust into the fire, with the simple observation, "One cannot observe everything." Among his other literary compositions at this period, was a "History of Corsica," which was submitted to, and approved by, the Abbé Raynal, who advised its publication. Napoleon afterwards expressed his satisfaction that this had not been done, as, according to the letter which he wrote concerning it in 1789 to Paoli, who was then in England, it must have abounded in denunciations against France for the subjugation of his country, and in enthusiastic sentiments of republicanism, which formed no part of the creed of his maturity. The work was subsequently lost or destroyed.

The Revolution had now commenced, and the whole nation was divided into partisans of those who had produced, and those who sought to stem the outbreak. Napoleon, who had never forgiven the invasion and conquest of Corsica by the French Royalists, and who had been from infancy an ardent lover of liberty, naturally took part with the Patriots; and by publicly assisting in the National Festivals which celebrated the triumph of the democratic over the court party, disclosed that he had no wish to mask his opinions. Republican sentiments were indeed becoming everywhere predominant; and after the acceptance of the new oath—"To the Nation, the Law, and the King"—the army may be considered as almost as thoroughly revolutionized as the Parisian Constituent Assembly itself.

Our young soldier remained in country-quarters till the beginning of 1792, when the commission of Captain fell to him by seniority, and he repaired to Paris. Here he lived for some time in absolute want of the resources necessary for his subsistence, soliciting employment from the War-office, and projecting a variety of impracticable schemes to raise money. Here also we find him an eye-witness to the tumult of the 20th of June, when the mob, composed of five or six thousand of the lowest and vilest of the suburban population, armed with every description of weapon, and vociferating the most disgusting imprecations, broke into the Tuileries, and brought forth the King, on whom one of them, in the insolence of vulgar triumph, placed the prostituted cap of liberty. Bonaparte, who had scarcely restrained his choler during the whole proceeding, on seeing this last humiliation, exclaimed aloud, with emphatic scorn, "What imbecility, to allow the scoundrels

REVOLUTION.

to enter! They should have blown four or five hundred of them into the air with the cannon, and the rest would have taken to their heels." This ebullition must probably be regarded as proceeding from a soldier, indignant at the conduct of those who might have prevented such a scene by promptitude of action, rather than as a revulsion of feeling concerning the principles of the Revolution, or a burst of awakening loyalty, since he still remained firm in his attachment to the measures of the National Assembly. Shortly afterwards, on the 10th of August, he saw the Tuileries again invested by the rabble, when the National Guard, whose duty it was to defend it, joined the infuriated rioters in attacking the brave Swiss Guards, who, in endeavouring to shield their master, were massacred in the court of the palace, almost to a man. The spectacle that followed was disgusting in the extreme. The yells of the victors, who paraded the streets with reeking heads stuck upon pikes, the screams and groans of the wounded and dying, and in the midst, and most terrible of all, well-dressed women prowling through the gardens of the Tuileries, insulting the bodies of the fallen soldiery, formed a sight of unmitigated horror. Napoleon himself has justly characterised the whole as "hideous and revolting."

PAOLI.

To escape from the vicinity of such scenes, Napoleon, in September, 1792, paid a visit to his family in Corsica, where he was welcomed by his father's old friend Paoli, who, after an exile of twenty years, had, on a motion of Mirabeau, been recalled by the Constituent Assembly, and appointed to the command of his native island. The aged General, who knew the high qualities of his protégé, and was wont to compliment him as being "one of Plutarch's men—cast in the mould of the antique," was desirous of attaching the young soldier to his interest, and gave him the temporary command of a battalion in the National Guard, in which capacity he was first brought into active service in an unsuccessful attack, in conjunction with Admiral Truguet, on the island of Sardinia. Paoli, meanwhile, had no real inclination for the service in which he was engaged. He had his old grudge to settle; and forgetting, in his resentment, that France was then fighting the same battle for independence against Europe, which Corsica had formerly maintained for a time against France, he waited impatiently for an opportunity to throw off his disguise, and to become the instrument of annexing his country to the crown of Great Britain. Before declaring himself, however, he held a consultation with Napoleon in the convent of Rostino; and there, in order to win the latter to his purpose, urged the state and tendency of affairs at Paris, and the insecurity and bloodshed which had already begun to mark the revolutionary struggle. But Napoleon, who, as Mr. Hazlitt has remarked, "saw that Corsica was no longer the scene on which the love of freedom or military prowess could take their loftiest stand; and that the great drama which Paoli had rehearsed in his younger days in an obscure corner, to which he still wished to confine it, had got 'a kingdom for a stage, and nations to behold the swelling act,'" turned a deaf ear to the persuasions and flatteries of the veteran chief. He argued that Corsica belonged geographically to either France or Italy, but had nothing to identify it with England; and that, as all the advantages it could derive from being connected with a larger power were in favour of a union with France, it ought always to remain a French province. The conference terminated without any change being effected in the opinions of either party.

On quitting the convent to return to Ajaccio, Napoleon was overtaken by mountaineers despatched by Paoli to bring him back; but,

PROMOTION.

escaping them by stratagem, he lay concealed at the house of a friend till the danger of pursuit was past; and shortly afterwards, on the arrival of English troops in the island, the cause of the French party becoming desperate, his whole family, consisting of Madame Lætitia his mother, his four brothers, Joseph, Lucien, Louis, and Jerome, and three sisters, Eliza, Caroline, and Pauline, quitted Corsica, and sought a refuge first at Nice, and afterwards at Marseilles; where for some time they had to endure all the privations of exile and poverty—Paoli, upon their flight, having confiscated all their property, allowed their house to be pillaged, and given up as a barrack for the English soldiers. It is but just, however, to add, that before he resorted to violence, the stern old chief, who always expressed much respect for the Bonapartes, had exhausted his powers of persuasion. “By this perverse opposition,” he said to Madame, “you are bringing irreparable ruin and misery on yourself and your family.” Lætitia, like another Cornelia, heroically replied, that she knew of but two laws which it was necessary she should obey; namely, those of honour and duty. Before procuring a passage to France, it is said that the family wandered for some days, houseless and destitute, on the sea-shore of their native island.

Many of the chief towns in the South of France, which from the first had been disaffected towards the revolutionary government, after the expulsion of their Girondist Deputies from the Convention on the 31st of May, 1793, openly revolted. In consequence of this Napoleon, in the beginning of September, was ordered to take the command of the train of artillery, then engaged under General Cartaux in the siege of Toulon; a place which had not only shared the general insurrectionary movements of Marseilles and Lyons, but had summoned the English and Spanish squadrons, which happened at the time to be upon the coast, to its aid, and placed its resources at the disposal of the national enemies. For this promotion the young officer was partly indebted, it is said, to the recommendation of the Representative Salicetti, one of the Deputies of the Committee of Public Safety, who attended to watch and direct the operations of the Republican troops,—a Corsican by birth, and an old friend of the Bonaparte family; partly, also, to the success with which he had recently conducted some important negotiations between General

PROMOTION.

Dujear, Commander of the Artillery of the Army of Italy, and the leaders of the insurgent Marseillais; and partly, it may be, to the influence he had exercised in behalf of the Convention, by the timely publication of a spirited pamphlet, called, "The Supper of Beaucaire," in which he endeavoured to convince the disaffected of their real weakness, as opposed to the will of the nation, and that the only result of their unnatural struggle would be the wilful shedding of blood in a prolonged civil war.

CHAPTER III.

GENERALS CARTAUX, DOPPET, AND DUGOMMIER—JUNOT—DUROC—LITTLE
GIBRALTAR—FALL OF TOULON—PROMOTION OF NAPOLEON—ARMY
AT NICE—FEMALE REPRESENTATIVE—ARREST—RESIGNATION.
1793—1795.

AS CASES speaks of the era of the siege of Toulon as that upon which Napoleon was wont, in his declining days, to look back as the most interesting of his life; and, when we reflect on the brilliant career which may be said to have had its commencement in the events of that period, we may well conceive that he could scarcely attach undue importance to its influence. Almost a foreigner, literally unknown, and labouring under the additional disadvantage of extreme youth, his good sword and his genius were all that he could command to assist him in carving, from the most chaotic elements, a fame and a fortune such as have not been surpassed in the annals of the world.

Bonaparte reached the camp of the besieging army on the 12th of September, 1793, when the General-in-chief, Cartaux, having forced the passes of Ollioules, which command the approach to the town, and made himself master of the little fortress of Sixfours, was, according to his own account of the matter, preparing to burn the allied squadrons in the road of Toulon, and to take the town. So confident was he indeed upon these points, that, when the young

CARTAUX.

Commandant of Artillery waited upon him, on reaching head-quarters, the General asserted that his appointment was altogether unnecessary; adding, as he twirled his whiskers, " Although we want no assistance to retake Toulon, you are still welcome to stay and partake the glory of the capture, without sharing the fatigue."

Napoleon lost no time in making himself acquainted with the position of affairs. At daybreak, on the morning after his arrival, he accompanied Cartaux in his cabriolet, to see the preparations for the attack; when, on crossing the heights of Ollioules, and coming within sight of the harbour, he perceived a few pieces of ordnance and some men digging; but nothing that gave him a shadow of suspicion that these were the batteries that were to destroy Toulon and the combined fleets of England, Spain, and Naples in the course of the day. The General, decorated with gold lace from head to foot, condescendingly accosted his factotum,—“Dupas, are these our batteries?” “ Yes, General.” “ And our red-hot balls?” “ In the country houses yonder, where two companies have been all the morning engaged in heating them.” “ Hum!” said Cartaux, gloomily; “ but how shall we carry them when they are hot?” This was a consideration which had not previously occurred, and which, therefore, puzzled him exceedingly. He appealed to the Artillery officer to clear up the mystery. Napoleon, who was half inclined to suspect the General of a design to hoax him, desired that he would try the range of the guns with a cold shot, before he troubled himself about hot ones; and, having tickled his fancy by using the technical term *coup d'épreuve*, induced him to allow the experiment. The ball fell at less than a third of the requisite distance; and the General attributed the failure to the Marseillais and the Aristocrats, who must, he affirmed, have maliciously damaged the powder. Gasparin, one of the Representatives of the People, who had formerly served in the army and was an intelligent man, happening to come up at the instant, Napoleon at once communicated with him on the ignorance of those with whom he was required to co-operate, and the injury the public service must necessarily sustain in consequence. Gasparin was not slow to perceive that the Commandant understood his business; and he contrived to have him thenceforth invested with proper powers to carry his plans into operation.

LITTLE GIBRALTAR.

The Ultra-Revolutionists, having declared an insane war against all classes of the aristocracy, had thus thinned the ranks of the army; most of the officers of which had been connected with the families of the old nobility. The consequences have been shown in the generalship of Cartaux, who had been brought up a painter, and whose intellect was nowise in advance of his information. The first care of Napoleon was to bring together all the efficient officers he could find willing to embark in the service; the next, to collect, organise, and advance to proper positions upon the shore, a park of two hundred pieces of artillery, which might be brought to bear directly upon the enemy. Meanwhile, the Committee of Public Safety, and other committees and individuals, were busy at Paris in framing plans for the conduct of the siege, a number of which, to the amount of six hundred, were forwarded to the camp during the brief space Napoleon commanded the Artillery. It soon became the opinion of the Commandant, however, that a regular siege was unnecessary; and that the capture of a position, called by the French *La Grasse*, and by the English *Little Gibraltar*, which formed the extreme point of the Promontory of Balagnier and L'Eguillette, between the two harbours, and nearly opposite the town, would enable them, with fifteen or twenty mortars, thirty or forty pieces of cannon, and furnaces for red-hot balls, to keep up such a fire upon every point of the roads as must compel the allied squadrons to stand out to sea, and reduce the garrison to the necessity of embarking at once with the fleet, or surrendering, in a very short time, for want of provisions. "Toulon," exclaimed the Artillery officer, pointing to the promontory as it was delineated in the map, "lies here! Two days after the French troops shall have obtained possession of this fort, the town itself will belong to the Republic." Cartaux in vain protested that the young man knew nothing of geography, and that Toulon lay in quite a contrary direction. Napoleon's arguments,—backed as they were by the importance which the English had attached to the position, in so entrenching and fortifying it, that though it might have been seized and occupied, without opposition, a month previously, it now required a vigorous attack,—had made the desired impression; and henceforth the details of the siege were chiefly entrusted to the Commandant of Artillery.

The blunders of Cartaux, though some of them sufficiently amusing,

DOPPET.

and the obstacles which he was continually throwing in the way of the execution of Napoleon's projects, so greatly annoyed the latter, that at last he desired the old man to write down his plan of attack; that it might be taken as a guide in arranging the measures necessary to support it. The effusion which this request called forth is worth recording:—"The Commandant of Artillery shall batter Toulon for three days, at the end of which I will attack with three columns and carry the town." This memorable and magniloquent document, which was forthwith forwarded to the Committee of the Convention, occasioned the speedy recall of its author. The wife of Cartaux, who would have made a better general than her husband, had, upon one of the disputes between him and the Commandant, which occurred in her presence, given this sensible advice:—"Let the young man alone; he knows more about it than you: and, as you are the responsible person, the glory he achieves will still be yours."

Cartaux was succeeded by Doppet, who had been a physician, and who, besides knowing nothing of military tactics, was a selfish and misanthropic coward. This man, however, had a narrow escape from acquiring a splendid military reputation by the taking of Little Gibraltar, within eight-and-forty hours after his arrival in the camp. A French soldier, on duty in the trenches, had been taken by the Spaniards on guard at the redoubt, and was so maltreated by them within sight of his comrades, that the latter ran to their arms, and, commencing a brisk fire, marched against the fort. Napoleon hastened to the General-in-chief, and persuaded him to support the attack. The troops were instantly put in motion, and the Commandant of Artillery placed himself at their head. At the very moment, however, when the grenadiers had repulsed the enemy's skirmishers, and reached the gorge of the redoubt, Doppet's aide-de-camp was killed at his side; which struck the General with such panic, that he immediately ordered the drums to beat a retreat: thus doltishly repelling the rare fortune which had come with outstretched arms to meet him. The complaints of the soldiers upon this disgraceful proceeding were loud and indignant: they exclaimed against the appointment of painters and physicians as military commanders; and the Committee of Public Safety at last saw that it would be necessary, as well as wise, to employ a man whose military skill and experience might be depended upon.

PERSONAL EXERTIONS.

The appointment was therefore conferred upon the veteran Dugommier: "An officer," says Napoleon, "who had seen fifty years of service, who was covered with scars, and was as dauntless as the weapon he wore."

Meantime, the command of the army had in effect devolved upon Bonaparte. His activity and knowledge were always in requisition. If the enemy attempted to make a sortie, or the besiegers were driven to any rapid or unexpected movement, the cry was sure to be raised: "Run to the Commandant of Artillery, he will inform us what should be done;" and, whatever his advice happened to be, it was followed without a murmur. His bravery was unquestionable; his zeal indefatigable; he slept little, and that little generally upon the ground, wrapped in his cloak. He used no precautions to ensure personal safety; and did not even disdain to share the labours of the men in

the ranks. One day, being at a battery where a gunner was killed at his side, he seized the rammer, and loaded ten or twelve times with his own hands. This incident was the origin of a violent cutaneous affection with which he was a few days afterwards seized; and the cause of which would have been unknown, had not Muiron, his adjutant, discovered that the dead gunner was subject to it. To this disorder, which he did not take proper means to eradicate till many years after, may be ascribed the thinness of body, and sickness of

complexion, which characterised him during the campaigns of Italy and Egypt; and it is remarkable that, when eventually cured, that tendency to corpulence, which marked the remainder of his life, first began to be developed.

Whilst every exertion was being made upon the spot to bring the siege to a successful termination, there was considerable dissatisfaction at the supposed delay in Paris; a singular manifestation of which is noticed in the Memoir of Las Cases. A train of fifteen superb carriages arrived one day at head-quarters from the Paris road, containing about sixty young and handsomely-equipped soldiers; who, on alighting, marched up to the General-in-chief, with the air and importance of ambassadors. "Citizen-general," said the orator of the party, "we come from Paris, where the patriots are indignant at your inactivity. France has appealed to her brave sons; we have obeyed her summons, and burn with ardour to fulfil her expectations. Furnish us with arms, and to-morrow we will march upon the enemy!" Napoleon desired in a whisper, that these volunteers might be left to him. At dawn on the morrow, he accordingly conducted them to the shore, and placed some guns at their disposal. Astonished to find themselves exposed from head to foot, without shelter or epaulement, and being speedily saluted with a broadside from an English frigate, they all fairly took to their heels, and never returned to "fulfil their country's expectations."

The Commandant of Artillery had now caused five or six batteries to be raised against Little Gibraltar, with platforms for fifteen mortars, and a battery of eight twenty-four pounders, and four mortars, against Fort Malbosquet; the construction of which, having been concealed from observation by a plantation of olives, was a profound secret to the enemy. These batteries it was intended should be opened for the first time at the moment of marching against the redoubt. The mischievous interference of the Representatives of the People had well-nigh rendered the whole project abortive. On the 20th of November, these persons, on inspecting the fortifications, learned that the battery opposed to Malbosquet had been completed more than a week, without having been used; and, thinking it might produce some great effect, ordered the artillerymen to open an immediate fire. This being done, General O'Hara, who commanded the allied forces, led out a sortie of six thousand men, and, with little difficulty,

JUNOT.

silenced the battery and spiked the guns. The alarm being given, however, the drums beat to arms, and Dugommier with all haste rallied the troops. Bonaparte, at the same time, led a battalion through a concealed passage, which had been formed as a supplementary branch of communication with the trench; and issuing forth unperceived, at a short distance from the fort, commenced a brisk fire upon the English, upon whom the effect was so sudden and unaccountable, that they imagined the shot must proceed from part of their own troops. General O'Hara, hastening to rectify the supposed mistake,

CAPTURE OF LITTLE GIBRALTAR.

was seized by a French serjeant, and dragged into the trench with such celerity, that not even his own men had any idea what was become of him. Finding, however, that he was gone, they were dispirited, and retreated hurriedly, and in great confusion, into the fortress.

It was during the continuance of these skirmishes that Napoleon, while taking observations from one of the batteries, having occasion to dictate some instructions upon the spot, asked if there was any one present who could write. A man advanced from the ranks, and offered his services. The order was scarcely penned when a ball, falling close by, scattered the loose earth over the paper. "Good," said the writer, "I shall have no need of sand." The cool gaiety of this remark fixed the attention of the Commandant. The soldier was Junot, afterwards Duke of Abrantes. It was at the siege of Toulon, also, that Napoleon first became acquainted with another trusty and talented officer, Duroc, who subsequently became Duke de Frioul, and Grand Marshal of the Palace.

On the 17th of December, the day on which the preparations for attacking Little Gibraltar were completed, the Representatives of the People, dissatisfied with what they considered the procrastination of Dugommier, and, by this time, thoroughly acquainted with the skill and enterprise of Napoleon, sent for the latter, and offered to transfer to him the chief command. This, however, as he had a sincere regard for the General, he declined; and, on quitting the council, went straight to his friend, informed him of what had passed, and requested him to decide on instantly attacking the enemy. His persuasion succeeded, and the troops were put in motion about four in the afternoon. But about eight, the Representatives, either conceiving, from the state of the weather,—the rain then falling in torrents,—that success was impossible; or wishing to shirk the responsibility of failure from their own shoulders, countermanded the attempt: Dugommier, however, still following the counsel of Napoleon, persisted in his resolution, and, forming the troops into two columns, placed himself at the head of the foremost, and marched to the attack. The onset was so well sustained by the English, that the veteran was obliged to give way; upon which, in the despair of the moment, he is said to have exclaimed, "I am a lost man!" His situation was indeed

FALL OF TOULON.

critical; as, under the circumstances, failure must inevitably have led him to the scaffold. At this moment, Bonaparte detached the brave Captain Muiron with a battalion of light infantry to support the General; and he, being perfectly acquainted with all the windings of the ascent, conducted the troops to the top of the hill without loss; then, debouching at the foot of the fort, they rushed together through the embrasures, killed the English and Spanish cannoniers at their guns, and Little Gibraltar was taken. The cannon within the redoubt was immediately turned against the flying enemy. Three hours afterwards, the Representatives of the People arrived at the scene of action, with drawn swords in their hands, to eulogise the bravery of the soldiers. In their letter communicating the event to the Convention, these worthies, who two or three days before had advised the abandonment of the siege, and a retrograde movement across the Durance, had the assurance to assert that they led the columns to the attack in person; while the name of Napoleon is not even mentioned.

As the unthanked Artilleryman had predicted, the siege was now virtually at an end. The English evacuated the positions of Balagnier and L'Eguillette before day-break; and Lord Hood, the British Admiral, made signals to the fleet, in the course of the day, to weigh anchor, and get out to sea. The council of the combined forces hastily met in Toulon; and it was unanimously agreed to embark the troops with all speed, together with such of the inhabitants as, from a sense of danger for the part they had taken in the revolt, should be desirous of leaving the town. In the succeeding night, Fort Poné was blown up by the allies, and part of the French squadron, being unable to put to sea, was set on fire. Nine seventy-four gun ships and four frigates were seen blazing at the same moment in the harbour, the fire and smoke of which resembled the eruption of a volcano; while the shouts of the victors; the cries of the fugitives,—many of whom had not yet cleared the shore when the Republican troops entered the city; the constant roar of the artillery, playing upon the town and the retiring vessels; and the occasional explosion of a powder magazine, whirling masses of blazing fragments high into the garish atmosphere, formed a scene as terrific as the imagination can well conceive. "It was," says Sir Walter Scott, "upon this night of

NAPOLEON AT NICE.

terror, conflagration, tears, and blood, that the star of Napoleon first ascended the horizon; and, though it gleamed over many a scene of horror ere it set, it may be doubtful whether its light was ever blended with those of one more dreadful." At sunrise, the allied fleets were seen far from the harbour, bearing with them more than fourteen thousand of the inhabitants of Toulon.

The vengeance which followed, through the influence of Napoleon was much moderated. Some emigrants of the name of Chabriant, who had just been wrecked upon the coast, owed their escape from death to his exertions. He even hazarded his own safety for their preservation; by sending them away to the isle of Hyeres, still in the possession of the English, in a covered boat, under pretence of business relative to his own department. He was, however, an unwilling witness, shortly afterwards, to the murder of the merchant Hugues, a man eighty-four years of age, deaf, and nearly blind, whose sole crime was being worth eighteen millions of francs. In vain did the old man plead his innocence and infirmities, and even offer to surrender his wealth to the tribunal before which he was arraigned: his remorseless persecutors drove him to the scaffold. "At this sight," said Napoleon, using an expression he was accustomed to use on extraordinary occasions, "I thought the world was at an end!"

The report of Dugommier concerning the share of Napoleon in the capture of Toulon, which contained these remarkable words,— "Reward and advance this young man, otherwise he will find means to advance himself,"—occasioned his promotion to the rank of Brigadier General, with the command of the Artillery department of the Army of Italy. Before proceeding to this post, however, his instructions directed him to superintend the erection and repairs of the line of fortifications along the coast of Provence, and the island of Hyeres: a duty which he performed both skilfully and conscientiously. It was not therefore until March, 1794, that he joined the army at Nice, where the headquarters of General Dumerbion, the Commander-in-chief, a brave old officer, who had been for ten years captain of grenadiers in the troops of the line, were then fixed. This division of the French armies, it should be observed, was then opposed, on the southern frontier of the Republic, to the forces of Austria and Sardinia; both of which powers, upon the execution of Louis XVI., on the 21st of January, 1793,

COL-DI-TENDE.

had joined the coalition, now comprising nearly all the Sovereign States of Europe, against the Revolutionary Government of France. Here Napoleon visited the advanced posts, and reconnoitred the whole line of occupation of the army—having done which, he drew up and laid before the military council a memorial, pointing out an effectual mode of repulsing the enemy, and securing a chain of almost impregnable positions on the high Alps; which would at once protect France from invasion, and enable her troops to carry the war with advantage into the enemy's country. Since the taking of Toulon, the plans of young Bonaparte seldom failed to inspire confidence; and the adoption of his suggestions now, as on the former occasion, led to complete success. Within a few months, the talents of Napoleon enabled the French to secure the possession of Oneglia, Saorgio, and the Col-di-Tende; with a prize of upwards of sixty pieces of cannon, and a plentiful supply of ammunition, and of every kind of provisions.

Among the Representatives with the army at Nice, was one who had with him a pretty and fascinating wife. The lady occasionally usurped much of her husband's authority, and paid considerable attention to the young General of Artillery. Walking with her one day to inspect the positions in the neighbourhood of the Col-di-Tende, Napoleon, in order to give her some idea of an engagement, ordered

ARREST.


an attack of the enemy's advanced post. It was a successful movement, but one which could not possibly be attended with any real advantage,—a mere whim,—which, as it was an abuse of authority, and cost the lives of several men, was a source of frequent self-reproach to its instigator in after years. The fair Representative, with much difficulty, gained access to her *protégé* after he had ascended the throne, when her husband was dead, and she herself reduced to extreme indigence. Napoleon, with the munificence which characterised him, generously, and consequently, unostentatiously, placed her beyond the reach of future want.

The Col-di-Tende had fallen into the hands of the French on the 7th of May, 1794. The remainder of that year was spent in putting the positions they had taken, in the mountains and along the coast, into a state of defence; a work which fell entirely under the direction of Napoleon, and which furnished him with opportunities of acquiring that local knowledge which he turned to such good account in the Italian campaign of 1796, when Commander-in-chief of the army in which he now acted as a subordinate. In January, 1795, he is said to have passed a whole night, with General Saint Hilaire, on the summit of the Col-di-Tende, whence, at sunrise, he was enabled to survey those fertile plains, on which he was destined shortly to reap a golden harvest of glory.

The rapid elevation of the young General was not beheld, however, without envy, mingled, it may be, with a leaven of malice. During the time he remained with the army of the south, he was put under arrest, and his papers sealed, by the Representative La Porte, on account of a journey he had just made to the Gulf of Genoa, under secret instructions from Paris, which, the object being unknown to the Representatives, had excited their suspicions. He was released after a confinement of fifteen days, by order of those who had employed his services. Subsequently, he was outlawed by another Representative, for refusing to allow his artillery horses to be employed in conveying despatches; and afterwards he was summoned to the bar of the Convention for having plotted, while inspecting the fortifications of Marseilles, to restore the forts of St. James and St. Nicholas, to serve as prisons for the patriots. A charge from which the spirited written defence which he addressed to the Representatives

RESIGNATION.

Albitte and Salicetti, and the exigencies of the Army of Italy, which could ill spare his services at the time, effectually exculpated him. Finally, however, his Alpine survey being completed, Aubry, who had just been placed at the head of the military committee at Paris, and who was secretly attached to the Bourbons, deprived him of his command, and put him on the list of those intended to serve against the insurgents in La Vendée, as General of Infantry. Napoleon at once repaired to Paris to protest against this change. The meeting between the President and the General is said to have been highly dramatic. Aubry was obstinate and sarcastic: he told Napoleon that he was yet too young to be placed over veteran officers. Napoleon replied, that soldiers soon grow old on the field of battle, and that active service might be counted instead of years. But finding Aubry inflexible, and even offended at the freedom of his observations, some of which reflected, perhaps, upon the President's lack of military experience; and, preferring the poverty which must, with him, be a concomitant of inactivity, rather than submission to what he deemed injustice, he immediately threw up his commission. This was in May, 1795.



CHAPTER IV.

DIFFICULTIES—PROJECTS—REVOLT OF THE SECTIONS—NAPOLEON COMMANDER OF PARIS—FAMINE—MADAME BEAUMAIS—MARRIAGE.
1795—1796.

NACTION filled a less space, perhaps, in the life of Napoleon than in that of any other man with whom the world has been acquainted; and the little to which he was constrained must have been extremely irksome to him. It seemed to be a necessity of his energetic mind and ardent temperament, that every hour of his existence should have its proportion of active duties, ministering to an end and object which, however dim and obscure to others, were to him sufficiently clear and definite. The idea of relaxation, as emanating from vacuity, was to him utterly incomprehensible. Every moment that he was doomed to remain in the crowd a mere spectator, was embittered by the reflection that it was so much time irretrievably lost to the purposes of his destiny. It was, in fact, in him an uncon-

PROJECTS.

trollable impulse, that he should be a stirring actor in the drama of passing events.

On retiring into private life, therefore, after his interview with Aubry, and the cessation of his command, he set assiduously to work upon new military projects; and, as there appeared to be prejudices formed against him at the head of the French administration, he turned his earnest thoughts towards another field of enterprise. He accordingly presented to the Committee of the Convention a memorial, in which he offered to undertake a mission to Constantinople, for the purpose of remodelling the artillery of the Sultan, and thus rendering the Porte more formidable to the expanding ambition of Russia. This, he contended, would, by assisting to preserve the balance of European power, render good service to the French Republic. The East at this period seemed to open a wide field of glory and of power. Visions of empire already floated before his young imagination. "How strange it would be," he is reported to have said to a friend, with whom he was on terms of intimacy, "if a little Corsican officer were to become king of Jerusalem!" His application, however, was never answered; and the name and achievements of Bonaparte remain the property of France. "If a Commissioner-at-war," remarks de Bourrienne, "had written '*granted*' upon his note, that little word might have changed the face of Europe."

His finances were at this time at the lowest ebb. The carriage which he had set up while at Nice was sold to his friend Salicetti for three thousand francs; and he had considerable difficulty to maintain an appearance of respectability. His sole means of subsistence appears to have been the salary attached to a precarious and disagreeable situation, which the Representative Pontécoulant had procured for him, in the office of the Topographical Committee; in which it was his duty to lay down plans, for others to have the honour of carrying into execution. Meanwhile, the obstacles and disappointments to which he was continually subjected, added to his native restlessness of spirit, seem for the time to have affected his temper and disposition. He became melancholy and irritable, and occasionally indulged in observations in which the better feelings of humanity were treated with mockery and derision; while, at other times, his petulance found vent in affected cravings for the quiet comforts of domestic life, and the

DISCONTENT.

humble means of keeping a cabriolet. In these moods he would exclaim, in allusion to the recent marriage of his eldest brother with Mademoiselle Clary, the daughter of a rich merchant of Marseilles: "How lucky is that knave, Joseph: in similar circumstances I should be the happiest of mortals." This, however, was but a passing cloud. The whole tenor of his after-life proves that it left no permanent impression of gloom or misanthropy on his mind. The moroseness of adversity vanished with the circumstances which induced it; and, during the long continuance of his subsequent elevation, no one was more remarkable for frankness and cheerfulness, or more generally attentive to the rights and feelings of others, in all his intercourse with society.

Nearly six months had now elapsed since Napoleon quitted the army, during which nothing had been accomplished to advance his fortune or his fame. The hope alone remained to sustain him, that, in the perpetual mutations of the governing power, that power might pass into hands more favourably disposed towards him, or that circumstances might arise to call him from obscurity. The current of events at length took for him the fortunate direction.

After the close of the *Reign of Terror*, by the death of Robespierre, on the 28th July, in the preceding year (1794), the government of the Republic seems to have been conducted by the Convention, not only without fixed principles, but without an ultimate aim. The debates of the public sittings, and the deliberations of the Committees, were alike concerning experiments in the art of government. New theories were adopted and changed from month to month, according to the accidental preponderance of the factions with which they originated. All hope of justice, and therefore all respect for its officers, had ceased, and the laws were publicly set at defiance on all sides. The nation was divided into furious parties, each having some grievance to redress, or some system to establish, and each using all the means it could command to enforce the execution of its projects. Public and private credit, with their dependants, commerce and manufactures, were destroyed. The revenues ceased to be collected, the armies were unpaid, the national treasury and magazines were empty. A storm was evidently gathering; which, unless dispersed at once, must speedily burst and overwhelm the Republic. The clamours of

NEW CONSTITUTION.

the people were loud and indignant, and the agents and partisans of the exiled Bourbons were not slow to take advantage of the growing agitation and suspense. Preparations, indeed, for a counter-revolution to restore the royal family came at last to be openly made and talked about.

An immediate change had now become absolutely necessary; but the Convention, whose want of ability and decision had produced the crisis, had only the usual *panacea* of a new constitution to propose. This was accordingly propounded on the 25th June, 1795, and embraced provisions for an Executive Directory of Five Persons, a Council of Five Hundred, and a Council of Ancients; but from a reservation which was appended to it, that two-thirds of the new legislature should be composed of members of the sitting Convention, it failed to give satisfaction to the popular assemblies to which it was submitted; and, after an animated debate in each, it was rejected by the whole of the forty-eight sections of Paris. Nevertheless, on the 28th of September, the Convention proclaimed that the constitution had been approved by a majority of the primary assemblies, and was thenceforth to be deemed law; an announcement which at once produced a convulsion in the infuriated capital. On the following day the Sections met, and appointed deputies to act as a central assembly; the real object of which was to organize an armed resistance. The Convention annulled this assembly, declared its sittings illegal, and ordered it to be dissolved, and the Sections disarmed. Upon this, these bodies, in conjunction with the National Guard, consisting of forty thousand armed and disciplined citizens, elected General Danican as their chief, and prepared to defend their meetings. The troops at the disposal of the Convention, amounting to not more than five thousand men, were placed under the command of General Menou.

The first collision of the antagonist forces took place between seven and eight in the evening of the 12th Vendémiaire (3d of October), when Menou, accompanied by the Commissioners of the Army of the Interior, marched with a body of troops to the place of meeting of the Section Lepelletier, to dissolve that assembly and disarm the National Guard. The Sectionaries, forewarned of their approach, had drawn up several of their battalions in order of battle, in the court of the Convent of Filles St. Thomas, and posted others at the windows along

REVOLT OF THE SECTIONS.

the Rue Vivienne, by which the troops must advance. The Representatives accompanying Menou, seeing the determined bearing of the citizens, hesitated to attack them; and, after a short conference, were glad to make a hasty retreat.

Bonaparte, who had that evening gone to the Theatre Feydeau, was informed by some friends of what was passing: he hastened to the scene of action, witnessed the repulse of Menou, and then repaired to the hall of the Convention; where, from a seat in the gallery, he was an unobserved spectator of the proceedings of the assembly. Dismay was in every countenance. The Commissioners of the Army, in order to exculpate themselves, accused the General; who, being denounced as a traitor, was at once placed under arrest. It was unanimously agreed that the public safety demanded the immediate appointment of some one with greater nerve and military skill to command the troops. Several members had ascended the tribune, each to recommend his own favourite general: it was then that, supported by the Representatives who had been with the army at Toulon and at Nice, and by others who had become acquainted with the amazing resources of his genius as a member of the Topographical Committee, Barras proposed Napoleon, as the officer whose abilities, promptitude, energy of character, and general moderation, best

DELIBERATION.

qualified him for the emergency. The nomination being approved by Mariette, the leader of the Moderates, and chief of the Council of Forty, was confirmed by the Assembly, and messengers were despatched into the city in search of the General elect.

Bonaparte, who had heard all that passed, deliberated for awhile what course he should pursue. His reflections have been recorded by himself. Even success, he reasoned, would be attended with a degree of odium; while failure would, in a few hours, add his name to the list of revolutionary tyrants, and devote it to the eternal execration of future generations. On the other hand, the defeat of the Convention would destroy the possibility of a beneficial result from so

NAPOLEON COMMANDER OF PARIS.

much toil and bloodshed as the Revolution had already cost. The national enemy, so often vanquished, would again become triumphant, would load France with insult and ignominy, would indulge the tyranny of revenge, and rule her by force. These considerations, assisted by the enthusiasm of youth, and his confidence in his own powers, decided him. He went to the Committee, and after stating that he had witnessed the proceedings in the Rue Vivienne, and that the failure there was chiefly attributable to the interference of the Commissioners, expressed his readiness to accept the proffered command, provided he was left free to act upon his own responsibility. To have dispensed with the presence of the Representatives, however, would have been, at that time, a breach of the law: the matter was therefore compromised by the Committee, which named Barras as General-in-chief, but vested the actual command in Napoleon.

It was now past midnight, and everything had to be arranged without the loss of a moment; for a decisive attack on the Tuileries was expected to take place in the morning. Napoleon repaired to the place of Menou's confinement, and learned from him the number and disposition of the army, and that the artillery, consisting of forty pieces of cannon, guarded by only fifteen men, was then at Sablons, a distance of five miles from Paris. A major of the 21st Chasseurs (Murat) was instantly despatched with three hundred cavalry to bring these guns to the Tuileries. A delay of five minutes would have ruined all. On reaching Sablons, at two o'clock, Murat fell in with the head of a column of the National Guard, which had been previously sent by Danican on the same errand, but had been outmarched. This corps, notwithstanding its great superiority of numbers, thought it wisest to retreat without hazarding a conflict. At six in the morning, the forty guns entered the garden of the Tuileries.

From six till nine, Napoleon was occupied in placing his artillery so as to command the bridges and streets leading to the palace, and in posting his little army in the most effective manner. The National Guard, who had formed at all the avenues, now surrounded the palace and gardens; and so confident were they in their numbers and prowess, that their drums beat defiance in the very teeth of the regular troops at the Place du Carousel and Place Louis Quinze. Napoleon

was under considerable apprehension for the result; not on account of the number of his troops, but for their fidelity. He thought that with good management they might be won to take part with the populace; and the probability of this was heightened by an ill-timed measure of the Convention, which, in order to increase its forces, had armed fifteen hundred men, called the Patriots of 1789; who, being known as the partisans and instruments of Robespierre and the Terrorists, had incurred the hatred of both the public and the military. In the events of the day, however, these Patriots signalled themselves for their bravery, and contributed essentially to the success which crowned the arms of the Convention.

The Committee of Public Safety, with Cambacérès at its head, met and deliberated. Some of the members proposed to relinquish the defence, and receive the Sectionaries as the senators of Rome received the victorious Gauls; some were desirous of retreating to St. Cloud, to await the arrival of fresh troops, and others, still more pusillanimous, wished to send deputations to the Sections to offer terms. The consternation of the Assembly rose its to height, when Napoleon sent into the hall of the Convention seven hundred muskets, with belts and cartridge-boxes, for the purpose of arming the members themselves, as a *corps-de-reserve*!

Various movements of the insurgents took place during the day, and one or two posts were obtained by them; but, so cautious were both sides of being the first to spill the blood of their countrymen, no firing was heard till about four in the afternoon; when a column of the National Guards, marching over the Pont Royal, discharged their muskets, and a few balls fell upon the steps of the Tuileries. The batteries were then ordered to fire. The bridges and streets occupied by the Sectionaries were instantly swept by the guns, and in two or three minutes the citizens were routed. One or two attempts were made to rally them; but they were dispersed by a few shells, before they could re-form. By six in the evening, the safety of the Convention was secured, and fighting was at an end. A cannon was occasionally heard at intervals during the night, but it was merely to prevent the formation of barricades, which some of the inhabitants attempted to raise with casks. The killed and wounded amounted to about two hundred on the side of the troops, and the same number on

QUELLING OF THE SECTIONS.

that of the Sectionaries. The latter must, however, have sustained a much severer loss, had not Napoleon, after the first discharges, ordered the troops to fire without ball. The following day was employed in disarming the Sections; and by nightfall order and tranquillity were restored throughout Paris.

The officers who had been on duty during the 13th were, on the 19th Vendémiaire (10th October), presented in a body to the Convention, and Napoleon was appointed by acclamation General-in-chief of the Army of the Interior. Menou was summoned before a council of war, but was saved from punishment by the firmness of Bonaparte; who declared that, before proceeding against that officer, justice required the condemnation of the three Commissioners, who had pre-

FAMINE.

vented the success of his operations. Several individuals were sentenced to death for their share in the insurrection; a young man, however, named La Fond, was the only person executed. He was a returned emigrant, of the old Garde-du-corps of Louis XVI., and led the Section Lepelletier during the engagement, in which he displayed more skill and courage than any of his compatriots; having thrice formed his broken column upon the Pont Royal, under a heavy fire of grape-shot, ere it was finally routed. Bonaparte, it is said, endeavoured to save him, but in vain: his imprudent answers defeated every attempt to interest the judges in his behalf.

From the state of affairs in the Capital at the breaking out of the revolt, it will be readily conceived that Napoleon's duties as Commander-in-chief were of the most arduous and responsible kind. He knew that to restore permanent order it would be necessary to re-establish public confidence, and to remedy, at least, the most flagrant of the many grievances under which the people laboured. For this purpose, the Government required to be rid of the terror constantly exercised over it by the secret societies, both of Jacobins and Royalists; the discontent of the army was to be allayed, by placing the financial operations of the Republic upon a creditable and stable basis; and the people, who began to experience, in a general famine, the miseries entailed upon them by national disorganization, were to be appeased in spite of the horrors of present starvation. It required no ordinary activity, address, and courage, to confront so many dangers and difficulties.—Napoleon was enabled to surmount them.

Several times, during the few months that he held the command of Paris, the supply of provisions entirely failed, and gave rise to popular commotions. On one of these occasions, a crowd had collected round a baker's shop. Napoleon, who was on the alert to prevent riotous proceedings, was surrounded by the mob—clamouring loudly for bread. He attempted to address them; but they only redoubled their outcries. A woman of a remarkably portly figure, who was rendering herself especially conspicuous by her fervid oratory and gesticulations, stepped up to the General and exclaimed:—"It is these fine epauletted fellows who occasion our distress. So long as they can feed and grow fat, they care nothing if poor people die of hunger." Napoleon, who, to use his own words, was a mere slip of

RIOTS.

parchment at the time, turned towards the amazon with great good humour, and said: "My good woman, look at me: which is the fattest of us—you or I?" A burst of laughter dissipated the fury of the crowd, and the officers continued their round without molestation.

At this period Napoleon first became acquainted with Madame Beauharnais. After the Sections had been disarmed, and the National Guard re-organized, a youth, about twelve years of age, presented himself one day at head-quarters, to request the restoration of his father's sword. He stated that his name was Eugene Beauharnais; that he was the son of a General of the Republic, who had perished on the scaffold during the *Reign of Terror*, for no other offence than that of noble birth. Struck with the nature of the request, and with the grace and beauty of the lad who preferred it, the General-in-chief ordered the sword to be given to him. Eugene burst into tears on

MADAME BEAUHARNAIS.

beholding it; and Napoleon, affected by his sensibility, behaved so kindly to him, that Madame Beauharnais thought it incumbent on her to wait upon the General next day to thank him for his attention. At this interview, her beauty and exceeding gracefulness of address made a strong impression upon him, and led to an attachment, which speedily produced a proposal for her hand.

This lady, whose name was Marie-Joseph-Rose Tascher de la Pagerie, was the daughter of a planter in the island of Martinico, where she was born on the 23rd of June, 1767; or, according to M. de Bourrienne, four years earlier. When very young she had been married to the Viscount Beauharnais, also a West Indian; who subsequently adopted the principles of the Revolution, and falling at length under the displeasure of the Democrats, was guillotined on the 23rd of July, 1794. Madame had at the same time been arrested, but was released on the fall of Robespierre, a few days afterwards.

MARRIAGE.

While in prison, she had formed an intimacy with Madame Fontenai, afterwards married to M. Tallien, one of the most eminent of the Conventional leaders. This lady introduced Madame Beauharnais to the friends of her husband, and among the rest to Barras; who having been established by the recent events as First Director, and being himself an ex-noble, began to hold a kind of Court at the Luxembourg, of which the two ladies we have named were, for some time, the chief ornaments.

Bonaparte and Madame Beauharnais, best known as Josephine, were married on the 9th of March, 1796. A strange prediction had been made concerning the fortunes of the lady, while she was yet a girl. A negro woman, who had the reputation of being a sorceress, told her that "she should one day become greater than a queen, and yet outlive her dignity." A lady of high rank, who had lived for some time in the same convent with Josephine in Paris, related this circumstance to Sir Walter Scott, about the time of the Italian expedition, when Napoleon was just beginning to attract general notice.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST CAMPAIGN OF ITALY. MONTENOTTE—MILLESIMO—DEGO—PASSAGE OF THE PO—FIOMBO—LODI—MILAN—PAVIA—THE MINCIO—MANTUA—LONATO—CASTIGLIONE—ROVEREDO—BASSANO—ST. GEORGE—ARCOLA—RIVOLI—LA FAVORITA—SURRENDER OF MANTUA—TOLENTINO—TAGLIAMENTO—LEOBEN—VENICE—PICHEGRU—THE DIRECTORY—MONTEBELLO—JOSEPHINE—TREATY OF CAMPO FORMIO.

1796—1797.

CHERER, who was at this time Commander-in-chief of the Army of Italy, had recently urged for money to pay his troops, and for horses to replace those of his cavalry which had perished for want of food; and declared that, if any delay took place in furnishing the requisite supplies, he should be compelled to evacuate the Genoese territory, and repass the Var. The Directory found it easier to remove the General than to comply with his request. Accusations were, therefore, got up against him, that he had not profited as he ought by the advantages he had obtained; and

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that, by his military incapacity, he had compromised the honour of the Republic. His application was accordingly answered with a notice, that he had been superseded by General Bonaparte.

Napoleon was little more than six-and-twenty when this splendid appointment devolved upon him. His reputation for boldness and skill was already established, and there was no taint upon his name, to diminish the confidence of the Government or the soldiery. All that could be urged against his fitness for the post was his youth; and this being objected to him by one of the Directors, he replied: "In less than a year, I shall be either old or dead." From this moment a great change became apparent in his language and manners. It was the second occasion on which his age had been mentioned as an obstacle to his advancement; and it was necessary to remove any impression that unsettled opinions or levity of conduct might be justly imputed to him. Hence he became cold, reserved, and dignified, "no longer *thee*-ing and *thou*-ing his friends," says de Bourrienne, "as in times past;" not, however, as is shewn by Las Cases, that there was anything repulsive or arrogant in the style of address he assumed; but it was evident that he deemed it necessary to insist on all the formalities which belonged to his position, in order that too great familiarity might not weaken his proper authority.

He quitted Paris on the 21st of March, twelve days after his marriage; paid a short visit to his mother and family at Marseilles; and, in a few days, reached the head-quarters at Nice. The army then consisted of four effective divisions, under the command of Generals Massena, Augereau, La Harpe, and Serrurier, each mustering about seven thousand men. The cavalry, amounting to about three thousand more, was in the most miserable plight imaginable. The arsenals of Antibes and Nice were well furnished; but all the draught horses having perished for want, and nothing remaining but about two hundred mules, the means of transport for artillery were insufficient. The supply of bread was scanty and uncertain, distributions of meat had long ceased, and the finances of the Republic were at so low an ebb that, with all the exertions of the Directory, only two thousand louis could be raised in specie to enable the young General to undertake the conquest of Italy. As an instance of the poverty of the public treasury, an order, signed by Berthier, and dated on the day of

ADDRESS TO THE TROOPS.

the victory of Millesimo, has been preserved, in which a gratuity of four louis is ordered to be distributed to each of the generals.

The thirty thousand French troops were opposed to upwards of eighty thousand of the enemy: consisting of about sixty thousand Austrians, commanded by the veteran Beaulieu, who had earned great reputation in the campaigns of the North; and twenty thousand Sardinians, under general Colli: besides eight or ten thousand Neapolitans, who occupied the fortress of Valenza, and several important posts in that neighbourhood. The inferiority of the French, in point of numbers, artillery, cavalry, and discipline, could only be counterpoised by the advantageous positions the nature of the ground enabled them to take up, by the rapidity of their movements, and the skill of their manœuvres. The character of the men, however, was excellent: they had all served in the campaigns of Italy, or in those of the Pyrenees.

Bonaparte, wishing to dazzle and astonish the enemy by some brilliant exploit at the very opening of the campaign, prepared to put the army into motion without delay. On reviewing the troops, he thus addressed them: "Soldiers! you are naked and hungry; the Republic owes you much; but she has not the means of paying her

PLAN OF THE CAMPAIGN.

debts. The constancy and courage you have shewn in the midst of these rocks are admirable ; but they win you no glory. I am come to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world, where rich provinces and great cities will be at your disposal. There you will find wealth,—honour,—glory. Soldiers of Italy ! will you now be wanting in fidelity and valour ?” This was Napoleon’s first address to his army. “The sinking hearts of the men,” observes Mr. Lockhart, “beat high with hope and confidence when they heard the voice of the young and fearless leader : and Augereau, Massena, Serrurier, Joubert, Lannés,—distinguished officers, who might themselves have aspired to the chief command,—felt, from the moment they began to understand his character and system, that the true road to glory would be to follow the star of Napoleon.”

The exultation of the General-in-chief may be imagined when he saw his own enthusiasm so readily imbibed by the officers and men under his command. For the first time the honour of his achievements was to be his own. At Toulon, at the Col-di-Tende, even on the 13th Vendémiaire, the chief nominal authority had been in other hands ; but whatever glory was to be won in the campaign of Italy would be undivided.

His previous knowledge of the country gave him great advantages in forming his plans ; which were soon matured, and ready to be put in operation. The object he proposed to himself was, at once to assume the offensive, and to carry the war into Italy ; not, however, after the manner of former invaders, who had uniformly sought an entrance to the country by some of the Alpine passes,—which the state of the roads and his want of the means of transport rendered impracticable :—but, by turning round the extremity of the great chain, at the narrow strip of comparatively level ground on the shore of the Mediterranean, where the Alps end and the Apennines begin, he hoped to avoid altogether the necessity of crossing the mountains. He was further encouraged to adopt this course, by the probability it afforded of enabling him to intersect and separate the Austrian and Sardinian forces : as, from the point by which he intended to debouch, it would be as practicable to march upon Milan, the capital of Lombardy, which the Austrians were interested to defend, as on Turin, which belonged to the king of Sardinia.

OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN.

It should be mentioned here, that the French expedition had a fourfold object: namely, first, to compel the king of Sardinia, who had already lost Nice and his dukedom of Savoy, but still maintained a powerful army on the frontiers of Piedmont, to abandon the alliance of Austria; secondly, it was hoped that, by reducing the Emperor to a single-handed defence of his Italian possessions, the increasing exertions which would be demanded in that quarter, would tend to diminish the power of his armies upon the Rhine; thirdly, it was sought to arouse the Italian subjects of the Empire to shake off the yoke of Austria, adopt the republican principles of the Revolution, and, by establishing their freedom, bring them into strict alliance with France; and, fourthly, it was desirable to humble the power of the Pope, the chief encourager of the royalist priests, who refused to take the constitutional oath, and had long kept La Vendée and the South of France in a state of constant insurrection. The Pope, moreover, had offered a direct insult to France, in suffering the assassins of Basseville, the envoy of the Convention, who had been murdered in a tumult, partly incited by his holiness himself, in 1793, to escape unpunished and unsought: an injury which certainly demanded atonement.

The Col-di-Cadibona, situated a few leagues above Genoa, was the point selected by Napoleon for the descent into Italy. Here, therefore, in the beginning of April, he began to concentrate his army; an operation which, had it not been that the snow then covered all the debouches of the Alps, would have been extremely hazardous. It is, indeed, one of the most delicate operations in the art of war to effect a successful transition from the defensive to the offensive; and every precaution was taken to prevent disaster. Serrurier with his division was posted at Garezzio, to observe the camp of General Colli at Ceva; Massena and Augereau were placed in reserve at Savona, Finale, and Laono; and La Harpe, with the vanguard, occupied Voltri—from whence Bonaparte sent to the senate of Genoa, which had hitherto pretended to maintain a strict neutrality, to demand the keys of the fortress of Gavi, and the passage of the Bocchetta. This bold and menacing attitude produced the greatest consternation among the allies; and Beaulieu, alarmed, hastened from Milan, to endeavour to check the advance of the foe. He removed his headquarters to Novi, and divided his army into three corps. The right,

MONTENOTTE.

under General Colli, was ordered to defend Stura and Tanaro; the centre, under D'Argenteau, marched on the villages and heights of Montenotte, to intersect the French army; and the left was led by Beaulieu in person, who reserved to himself the protection of Genoa. The subsequent movements will shew with what consummate skill the disposition of his forces had been made by Napoleon, and how correct were his calculations of baffling the science of his adversary. His objects were, to draw the Austrian General into such a division of his army as would render it impracticable to maintain a communication between his several divisions, except behind the mountains; and to post his own troops so that all the divisions could join in a few hours, and fall *en masse* on either column of the enemy.

General D'Argenteau encamped, on the 9th of April, at Lower Montenotte. On the 10th, he advanced to Monte-Legino, with the purpose of debouching by Madonna. Colonel Rampon, who, with about fifteen hundred men, had orders to keep the three redoubts of Monte-Legino, having received intelligence of D'Argenteau's march, pushed forward a strong reconnoitring party to meet him; which, however, was speedily driven back. D'Argenteau attempted to carry the redoubts by instantaneous assault; but being repulsed, with the most determined valour, in three successive attacks, he relinquished the project. On the same day, La Harpe was engaged with the vanguard of Beaulieu, before Voltri, disputing the passes there, and keeping the enemy in check: but in the evening, he also fell back, to take up a position in the rear of Rampon, and to be ready for the meditated attack on D'Argenteau on the morrow. During the night of the 10th, Napoleon himself advanced, with the divisions of Augereau and Massena, by the Col-di-Cadibona, the latter of which debouched behind Montenotte, with intent to attack the centre of the Austrian line in the morning. At daybreak, therefore, D'Argenteau, instead of having to contend, as on the previous day, with Rampon and his mere handful of brave men, found that he was entirely surrounded; and had to sustain a simultaneous attack in front, in rear, and on his flank. His peril was now manifest; but he contested the field heroically, though from the first with small chance of success. His loss that day amounted to upwards of a thousand killed, two thousand prisoners, and all his cannon and

MONTENOTTE.

colours, which were left upon the field. Himself, with the remnant of his army, escaped, in utter confusion, into the neighbouring mountains.

Neither Beaulieu nor Colli knew anything of these movements, nor, indeed, that there had been a battle, until the 12th; when the former, arriving at Voltri, found no enemy to contend against, and learned that Napoleon had not only accomplished his object, and passed with his whole army into Piedmont; but, in his pursuit of D'Argenteau's defeated column, had obtained possession of Cairo, a fortress in Lombardy.

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Such was the battle of Montenotte, the first of Napoleon's Victories, and that from which he dated the origin of his nobility. It had been won solely by the genius of the young General; whose mathematical accuracy of combination had enabled him to turn the unpromising nature of the ground to his advantage, and to concentrate, at a given place and moment, the apparently disunited portions of his

MILLESIMO—DEGO.

army; and, by a sudden and unexpected attack, even on the point which seemed most invulnerable, to overwhelm and defeat his enemy.

Beaulieu now found it necessary to make a hasty retreat to Dego, in order to open a communication with Colli, who, on hearing of the battle, had also fallen back, and taken post at Millesimo, about ten miles from Dego—the two positions being connected by a Sardinian division, occupying the heights of Biestro. D'Argenteau, meanwhile, endeavoured to re-organize his broken and dispirited troops: and each hoped to be able to maintain himself in his position, till fresh succours should arrive from Lombardy. Napoleon, however, had no inclination to await this event. The day after his victory he gave orders for a general assault on the whole of the enemy's line. Augereau, whose division had not been engaged at Montenotte, marched accordingly on the 12th, upon Millesimo; Massena, with the centre, advanced upon Dego; and La Harpe, with the right wing, proceeded by the heights of Cairo, in order to turn the left flank of Beaulieu.

On the 13th, Augereau rushed impetuously on the Sardinians' right, carried the passes of Millesimo, and surrounded the hill of Cossaria; where General Provera, with the Austrian rear-guard, two thousand strong, was entirely cut off from the main body of Colli's army. Provera, resolved to brave extremities, took refuge in a ruined castle on the summit of the eminence, and barricaded himself sufficiently to resist all efforts to dislodge him. The next morning, the 14th, Napoleon himself arrived, and, forcing Colli to accept battle, utterly defeated his troops, and pursued them hotly into the passes of Spigno; where they abandoned the greater portion of their artillery, with many colours and prisoners. Provera, thus deserted, was compelled to surrender at discretion. On the same day, Massena and La Harpe, after a well-contested fight, carried Dego; and Menard and Joubert obtained possession of the heights of Biestro.

From this time, the separation of the Austrian and Sardinian armies was complete. Beaulieu removed his head-quarters to Acqui, in order to cover Milan; and Colli proceeded to Ceva, to oppose the junction of Serrurier with the main body of the army, and to protect Turin.

During the absence of Bonaparte, a division of Austrian grenadiers, despatched from Voltri by Sasselo, had reached Dego, at three in the

TURNING THE ALPS.

morning of the 15th, and, with little difficulty, made themselves masters of the village, which was now occupied by a few outposts only. This arrival, however, created some panic at head-quarters; as it was difficult to account for the enemy's being at Dego, while the advanced posts, on the Acqui road, remained undisturbed. A division, under Adjutant-General Lanusse, was immediately despatched to Dego; and, after two hours hard fighting, in which the French were twice driven back and rallied by Lanusse,—who, placing his hat on the point of his sword, rushed, on the third assault, at the head of his men into the enemy's lines,—the place was retaken. Almost the whole of the division which had occupied the village were made prisoners; and Lanusse was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General on the field. It was in this action also, that Napoleon first distinguished a *chef-de-bataillon*, whom he then made colonel, and who afterwards became a Marshal of the Empire and Duke of Montebello. This was the celebrated Lannes, whose name henceforward will frequently occur among those of the heroes with whom Napoleon surrounded himself.

Leaving a sufficient force on the Bormida, to keep Beaulieu in check, Bonaparte directed his main body against the Sardinian forces. Serurier, who had hitherto retained his post at Garezzio, having received intelligence of the battles of Montenotte and Millesimo, took possession of the heights of San Giovanni di Murialto; and Colli, finding his position no longer tenable, hastily quitted it, and retired behind the Corsaglia. The division of La Harpe entered Ceva on the 17th; and, the same day, Augereau reached the heights of Monte-Zemoto; whence the army beheld, at one view, the richly cultivated vales of Piedmont, through which the Po, the Tanaro, and other magnificent and beautiful rivers, meandered—the horizon being bounded by a sublime circle of snow and ice, surrounding that land of promise. Napoleon paused to survey the gorgeous spectacle afforded by those fertile plains, and gigantic barriers, which last had been surmounted as if by enchantment: “Hannibal forced the Alps,” he exclaimed gaily, “and we have turned them!” A happy expression, which at once conveyed the idea, and the results of the campaign.

The army now passed the Tanaro, and was for the first time in the plains. Colli found it necessary to abandon successively all his positions; sustaining, however, with great gallantry, two general

MONDOVI.

engagements in the course of his retreat: one, on the 20th, at the bridge of St. Michel, the other on the 22nd at Mondovi. In the conflict which bears the latter name General Steingel fell, mortally wounded by a pike; and had it not been for the desperate valour of Murat, who rallied the cavalry as they were flying in disorder upon their leader's fall, the fortune of the day would, in all probability, have inclined to the Sardinians. As it was, the defeat of Colli was decisive: his best troops were slain; his cannon, baggage, magazines, and a great quantity of provisions, fell into the hands of the victor; who, pursuing his advantage, pushed on, and took possession of Cherasco, a fortified town, not more than ten leagues from Turin.

The junction of Serrurier had now enabled Napoleon to resume his communications with Nice, and to procure from thence reinforcements of artillery and a quantity of military stores. He had taken many cannon and horses in the different engagements; and, in a few days after entering Cherasco, the army could furnish sixty guns; the cavalry was remounted; and the soldiers, who, during the first ten days of the campaign, had been without rations, began to receive them regularly. Pillage and disorder, the constant attendants of want and rapid movements, ceased; discipline, which had long been neglected, was restored; and the appearance of the men improved daily, amidst the abundance of the fine country to which they had gained admission. The losses sustained in the several actions began also to be repaired, by the continual arrival of soldiers from all the depôts and hospitals in

SARDINIAN ARMISTICE.

their rear. Previously to this period, the misery of the army had almost exceeded belief. The troops were in rags, shoeless, and penniless: the officers for several years had not received more than eight francs a month; and there was not a single horse belonging to the staff.

The king of Sardinia, no longer able to protract the defence of his continental dominions with any prospect of success, sued for an armistice. The conditions imposed by Napoleon were, that the King should abandon the coalition against the Republic; and that, until negotiations for peace with the Directory should be satisfactorily settled or broken off, the fortresses of Coni, and either Tortona or Alessandria—the keys, as they have been called, of the Alps—with all their artillery and magazines, should be forthwith surrendered to the

REJOICINGS AT PARIS.

French; who were also to keep possession of Ceva, and the other posts already in their possession; that the roads of Piedmont should be free to the French army; that Valenza should be immediately evacuated by the Neapolitans, and given up to the French General, till his army should have effected the passage of the Po; and finally, that the Piedmontese militia should be disbanded, and the regular troops dispersed in the various fortresses, to avoid giving umbrage to the French soldiery. The king, Victor Amadeus III. (who was father-in-law to both Louis XVIII., the legitimatist king, then styled Monsieur, and to the Comte D'Artois, afterwards Charles X.), reluctantly subscribed the treaty: but the humiliation broke his proud spirit, and he died a few days afterwards.

Colonel Murat, chief aide-de-camp to Bonaparte, was despatched to Paris, with a copy of the armistice and twenty-one stand of colours, as trophies of the several victories which had been gained. It need hardly be added, that his mission elicited the most enthusiastic demonstrations of joy. Five times in the course of a month did the national legislature decree that the Army of Italy deserved well of the country. The name of Napoleon was eulogised by the orators, his deeds became the theme of the poets, and his portrait the popular subject of the painters of Paris. A medal of him was also struck as the hero of Montenotte,—the first of the splendid series, recording his victories and honours, designed by Denon, as a tribute to the genius of the young chief.

The unhopèd-for success of this brief campaign scarcely less astonished the French army than those against whom it had been directed. It was doubted whether, with such slender means, they could even retain what they had won. To think of proceeding to the conquest of Italy, without greater resources, appeared, to the boldest of his generals, little short of madness; but Napoleon had contemplated his course of operations from the commencement, and was not to be deterred from pursuing it. He had promised to be at Milan in three months from the date of leaving Paris, and was resolved to make good his word. Besides, he had little doubt that, if sufficient time were given, strong reinforcements would be furnished to the Austrian army from Friuli and the Tyrol; and that the Venetian Republic, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and other Italian States, would assemble

PROCLAMATION.

their forces, and take a decided part in assisting the Austrians to oppose a French invasion. Preparing, therefore, to put his army into motion without delay, he issued from Cherasco the following proclamation:—

“Soldiers! in fifteen days you have gained six victories, taken twenty-one stand of colours, fifty-five pieces of cannon, and several fortresses; and conquered the richest part of Piedmont. You have made fifteen thousand prisoners, and killed or wounded ten thousand men.

“Hitherto, however, you have been fighting for barren rocks, made memorable by your valour, but useless to the nation. Your exploits now equal those of the conquering armies of Holland and the Rhine. You were utterly destitute, and have supplied all your wants. You have gained battles without cannon, passed rivers without bridges, performed forced marches without shoes, and bivouacked without brandy, and often without bread. None but republican phalanxes—soldiers of liberty—could have borne what you have endured. For this you have the thanks of your country.

“The two armies which lately attacked you in full confidence, now fly before you in consternation. . . . But, Soldiers! it must not be concealed, that you have done nothing, since there remains aught to do. Neither Turin nor Milan are ours. The ashes of the conquerors of Tarquin are still trodden under foot by the assassins of Basseville. . . . The greatest difficulties are, no doubt, surmounted; but you have still battles to fight, towns to take, rivers to cross. It is said, that there are some among you whose courage is shaken, and who would prefer returning to the summits of the Alps and Apennines to endure patiently the insults of yon slavish soldiery! Are there any such among the victors of Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, and Mondovi? No!—all are eager to extend the glory of the French name. . . .

“But, ere I lead you to conquest, there is one condition you must swear to fulfil: that is, to protect the people whom you liberate; to repress the horrible acts of pillage, to which the wretches incited by your enemies abandon themselves! Without this, you would not be the deliverers, but the scourges of nations. . . . Invested with the national authority, strong in justice and the law, I shall not hesitate to force that handful of dishonest, cowardly, heartless men, to respect the

PASSAGE OF THE PO.

laws of humanity and honour which they trample on. I will not suffer robbers to sully your laurels! . . . Pillagers shall be shot without mercy! . . .

"People of Italy! the French army advances to break your chains. The French people are the friends of all nations: in them you may confide. Your property, your religion, your customs, shall be respected. We will only make war as generous foes: our sole quarrel is with the tyrants who enslave you."

In the beginning of May, Napoleon fixed his head-quarters at Tortona; and, at the same time, Beaulieu concentrated his army at Valeggio, behind the Po, to prevent the French, if possible, from crossing that river, and making their way to the capital of Lombardy. From the stipulation with the King of Sardinia, respecting the occupation of Valenza, and the circumstance that Massena, who had taken post at Alessandria, had pushed forward strong reconnoitring parties in the direction indicated, the Austrian General had been led to believe that it was the intention of Bonaparte to attempt the passage of the Po at Valenza: a fact the more readily credited by Beaulieu, as he himself had crossed there; and, like most men of routine, he had not calculated that another might prefer a different mode of doing the same thing to that which had appeared most advisable to himself. The notion of crossing at Valenza was, however, only a *ruse de guerre* on the part of Napoleon; who, when he had succeeded in attracting the undivided attention of his antagonist to that point, suddenly assembled the choicest of his troops, with the cavalry and twenty-four pieces of cannon, and on the 6th of May, executed a march of almost incredible celerity upon Placenza, nearly fifty miles lower down the river. Here he unexpectedly appeared on the morning of the 7th, to the utter consternation of the two or three squadrons of Austrians stationed there merely to reconnoitre. The other divisions of the army quitted their posts, and reached the appointed spot a few hours after their leader. The advanced guard, under Andreossi, crossed in the common ferry-boat. The first to throw himself ashore was Colonel Lannes, who, immediately forming his grenadiers, charged and dispersed the Austrian hussars that attempted to dispute the landing. The passage being thus opened, the different divisions were put across in succession; and by the following morning the whole army was in the Milanese territory,

FIOMBO.

on the left bank of the Po. It is universally admitted that the passage of a great river is one of the most critical of military operations: the passage of the Po was effected without the loss of a single man, and may, therefore, be justly considered as one of the greatest exploits in the records of modern warfare.

Beaulieu, finding that he had been out-generalled, hastily advanced towards Placenza, hoping to come up with his enemy, and force him to an engagement, with the river close in his rear, and no means of retreat left, in case of disaster. He found himself anticipated, however. Bonaparte, who had seen the danger of defeat, and even of a material check in his situation at Placenza, was already pushing forward to find more favourable ground for manœuvring. The hostile armies met at the village of Fiombo, in the afternoon of the 8th of May, when it was discovered that the Austrian advanced guard, under General Liptay, had fortified and manned the steeples and houses, and that cannon was planted so as to command all the roads. Napoleon directed preparations to be immediately made for an attack; and, in less than an hour, the village was carried, and the Austrians routed, with the loss of their cannon, three standards, and two thousand prisoners. Those who escaped crossed the Adda, and took refuge in Pizzighitone, a large town, which, two or three days previously, had been considered too far from the seat of war to require putting into a state of defence.

In the night after this battle, Beaulieu, who knew not that Fiombo had been wrested from him, advanced to Casal, a few miles from the scene of action, where one of his cavalry regiments fell in with the bivouacs of La Harpe's division; and, being received with a brisk fire of musketry, precipitately retired. The French General, with a few officers of his staff, hastened to ascertain the strength of the corps which had appeared; and returning an hour after midnight by a different road, was fired upon and killed by his own sentinels, who mistook him and his attendants for another party of the enemy. La Harpe has been honourably mentioned by Napoleon, as a "grenadier both in stature and courage."

The Austrian General now retired behind the Adda, to collect once more his scattered forces, and oppose the further progress of the invader; and judging—rightly this time—that the attempt to cross the river would be made at Lodi, the strongest dispositions for defence were

LODI.

there arranged. Napoleon, nothing daunted, however, pressed forward; and on the 10th of May, encountering the enemy's rear-guard, drove them back into the town of Lodi, which he entered with them *pell-mell*, before they had time to close the gates. The fugitives did not pause to rally till they had crossed the bridge, and reached the camp of their General-in-chief on the other side of the town. Bonaparte knew that reinforcements under Colli—who, though he had commanded the Piedmontese, was an Austrian officer, and had now resumed his command in the latter army—were hurrying to the aid of Beaulieu; and, hoping by a rapid movement to prevent their junction, he resolved to pass the bridge the same day, under the fire of the enemy. The attempt, to any other than Napoleon, would have appeared hair-brained and desperate. The bridge was of wood, and was swept by thirty pieces of cannon, the thunders of which menaced death to all who should approach.

After a few hours' rest, during which all the disposable artillery of the army was got in position to answer the fire of the enemy's guns, General Beaumont was detached with some cavalry, to cross the Adda at a ford half a league above the town, in order to open a fire on the enemy's right. About five in the afternoon the cannonade was opened; and Bonaparte, perceiving some hesitation among the men to whom the directions were given, stepped forward himself, amid the thickest of the fire, and pointed two guns in such a manner as to render approach for the purpose of undermining the bridge impossible. His grenadiers had been drawn up in close column behind the rampart of the town, as near as possible to the spot where their services were required; and, the moment he perceived that Beaumont had effected his landing, and was enabled to operate on the other side, Napoleon ordered the charge to sound, when the grenadiers, suddenly wheeling to the left, rushed impetuously upon the bridge, with loud shouts of *Vive la Republique!* The shower of grape-shot, however, to which they were exposed, added to incessant volleys of musketry from the windows of the adjacent houses, staggered them for a moment: but Lannes, Napoleon, Berthier, and D'Allemagne, hurrying to the head of the column, dashed forward; and the panic-stricken Austrians fled in the utmost confusion, leaving their unsupported artillerymen to fall by the bayonets of the exulting enemy. Beaulieu lost, at "the terrible passage of the bridge of Lodi," as Napoleon termed it in his

LODI.

despatch to the Directory, upwards of twenty guns, several stand of colours, two thousand five hundred prisoners, and a large number of killed and wounded. On the side of the French there fell only two hundred men—so well had the preliminaries been concerted, so prompt was their execution, and so sudden the effect of the daring courage of the whole achievement.

The opinion which some of the Austrians entertained of Napoleon at this time, may be gathered from the remark of an old German Colonel, who was among the prisoners after the victory of Lodi. "Things go on very badly," said the veteran; "no one seems to understand what he is about. The French General is a young blockhead, who knows nothing of the regular rules of war. Sometimes he is on our right, at others on our left, now in front, and presently in our rear. This mode of warfare is contrary to all system, and utterly insufferable."

It was in compliment to the personal bravery exhibited by Napoleon at Lodi, that the soldiers, whose toils he had not disdained to share,

SUBMISSION OF PARMA.

conferred on him the honorary title of *The Little Corporal*; which was long remembered, and served in after years as an electrical link of affection, between him and the bold hearts which had responded to his in the dawn of his career. In all respects, indeed, this battle was an important one; and has been marked by himself as an epoch in his history. "Neither the successes of Vendémiaire nor of Montenotte," he afterwards said, "induced me to regard myself as belonging to a superior class: but after Lodi, it flashed upon me that I might possibly become a decisive actor in the political arena. It was there that the first spark of my ambition was kindled."

The advantages obtained by the French in the pursuit exceeded those of the battle itself. The cavalry pursued the flying army as far as Cremona, of which town they took possession; Pizzighitone, cut off from all hope of succour, surrendered; and Beaulieu took refuge under the walls of Mantua.

The Duke of Parma, anxious to conciliate Napoleon, now sued for his protection; which was granted, on condition that he should pay two millions of livres, and furnish sixteen hundred horses and a large quantity of provisions for the French army. He was also required to concede twenty of the best works of art in his dominions as contributions towards the French National Museum. This was the first instance in modern warfare of any demand for such a tribute; and its prudence and policy may certainly be questioned. The Italians, above all other people, are distinguished for their love of art; and the abstraction of their treasured master-pieces excited strong prejudices against the spoliators, and probably "turned back many a half-made convert from the principles of the French Revolution." So strongly was the injury felt, indeed, that the Parmese Commissioners offered to redeem the St. Jerome of Corregio, which was among those selected for exportation, at the price of two millions of francs (upwards of eighty thousand pounds sterling). Charges of unjustifiable plunder and extortion have been multiplied against Napoleon for this and similar exactions: but such accusations result from a one-sided view of the question. If a right to the seizure of any species of property is conferred by conquest, there can be little doubt that works of art, being subject to barter and sale, like other commodities, can claim no just exemption. That the spirit which actuated Napoleon was an exalted,

MILAN.

and not an avaricious one, is apparent from his answer to the army-agents who urged him to accept the money. "The Duke's two millions," said he, "will be soon spent; but his Corregio will remain for ages to adorn Paris, and inspire the arts of France."

Immediately afterwards, the French General prepared to enter Milan, which, in the rapid succession of recent movements, had been left far in the rear of the army, and entirely unprotected. The Archduke Ferdinand, who governed Lombardy in the name of the Emperor, had, with his Duchess, already abandoned the city; and the inhabitants, who had long been ill-governed, and were not therefore well affected towards the Austrians, assumed the tri-colour, and sent an earnest invitation to Napoleon to advance, and confer upon them the liberty and privileges of republicanism. On the 15th of May, the Commander-in-chief accordingly entered Milan, under a triumphal arch, and amid shouts of welcome from an immense concourse of people and the National Guard of the city, clothed in uniform of the three colours—green, white, and red. He fixed his residence in the Archbishop's palace; and the same evening was splendidly entertained

JEALOUSY OF THE DIRECTORY.

by the municipality, while, with much pomp and popular exultation, the Tree of Liberty was planted in the principal square.

At this period, Serrurier occupied Lodi and Cremona; La Harpe's division, which, since that officer's death had been entrusted to General Berthier, was in possession of Como, Cassano, Lucca, and Pizzighitone; and Augereau had retrograded to garrison Pavia. Napoleon remained at Milan, where he levied heavy contributions for the support of his army, to the amount, it is said, of twenty millions of livres (eight hundred thousand pounds); which enabled him to discharge the arrears of pay due to his troops, to supply their wants, and establish regularity in the different branches of the service. He took possession, also, of several of the finest pictures in the Ambrosian gallery. At the same time, the Duke of Modena sent envoys to solicit peace, and offered ten millions of francs, with many horses, a large quantity of provisions, and twenty works of art, as the terms on which he was willing to purchase it.

Meanwhile, the Directory, jealous of the popularity of Napoleon, and suspecting probably that his growing influence might speedily overshadow if not blight their own, resolved to divide the army of Italy between its present General, who was ordered to advance southward upon Rome and Naples, with twenty thousand men; and Kellerman, who, with the remainder of the troops, was to press the siege of Mantua, and terminate the contest with Beaulieu. Napoleon, foreseeing that such a division would annihilate the power of the French and bring disaster upon the army, immediately transmitted to the Directory his resignation, accompanied by the following letter to Carnot:—

REVOLT OF PAVIA.

"Whether I prosecute the war here or elsewhere, is to me a matter of indifference. To serve my country, to merit with posterity a page in history, is my sole ambition. The contemplated division between Kellerman and me, would ruin all: and I cannot willingly serve with one who conceives that he is the best general in Europe." His promptitude was the means of retaining the undivided command in his own hands, and of preserving the army from almost certain destruction. Kellerman was gratified in the meantime with the post of Governor-general of the domains ceded to the Republic by the final treaty between France and Sardinia.

This matter was scarcely settled, ere Napoleon obtained intelligence that the citizens of Pavia, with the malcontents of the surrounding districts, were in arms in his rear. The tocsin was ringing in every village: and news was in circulation that the army of the Prince of Condé, joined by a fresh levy of Austrians, had descended from the Tyrol, and were marching to the attack. The insurrection already numbered thirty thousand men, and was rapidly extending. At Pavia, the citadel, with three hundred French prisoners, was taken; and the garrison which had been left at Milan by Beaulieu, and still held out, made demonstrations that they were willing to co-operate with the insurgents. The Archbishop of Milan was despatched to the revolted city to appease the outbreak; but his remonstrances were ineffectual; and, after vainly endeavouring to overawe the disaffected, by the sack and conflagration of Benasco, a village to which the vanguard of the insurgents had advanced, Napoleon hastened in person to Pavia, with fifteen hundred men and six field-pieces. The gates of the city were blown open, and the revolted, consisting chiefly of undisciplined peasants, becoming alarmed, fled into the neighbouring fields, where, being pursued by the cavalry, many of them were overtaken and put to the sword. The French garrison, now liberated, was ordered into the presence of the General-in-chief. "Cowards!" he exclaimed, addressing them; "I entrusted you with a post essential to the safety of the army, and you have abandoned it to a mob of wretched peasants, without a shew of resistance." The Captain was tried by a council of war and shot. The chiefs of the insurrection were also handed over to a military tribunal and shared the same fate; and hostages were taken from the principal families of

PASSAGE OF THE MINCIO.

Lombardy, and sent to Paris, to guarantee the future conduct of their countrymen.

The quelling of this insurrection had the effect of restoring quiet around the army, and of striking a salutary terror into the whole of Italy. The occasion of the revolt was a heavy tribute, just demanded, of a million sterling for the support of the army; the collection of which had been attended with more than necessary oppression. Indeed it was the necessities, and not the principles, of the Republic which alienated the affections of the Italians; who were not prepared to value the liberty promised them in the French proclamations at the immense sums demanded as its price.

Towards the end of May, Napoleon again moved forward in pursuit of Beaulieu; whom he contrived once more to mislead, as at Placenza, respecting the passage of the river. On the 28th, he entered Brescia, and manœuvred to induce a belief that he intended to cross the Mincio at Peschiera; whither, accordingly, the Austrian reserve was drawn to oppose his passage. In the morning of the 30th, however, he advanced by a rapid march to Borghetto; attacked the Austrian and Neapolitan forces posted there; and, after a smart engagement, took the town. The enemy, retreating, set fire to the bridge, one arch of which was destroyed; but Colonel Gardane, at the head of the grenadiers, threw himself into the river; and the Austrians, remembering the terrible column of Lodi, instantly quitted their ground. The bridge was repaired with planks, and the army, without further resistance, crossed the Mincio, and carried the war into the Venetian states.

At Valeggio, an incident occurred which was near repaying the Austrians for all their reverses. The French army, occupied in the pursuit, had passed through the village and were far in advance; and Napoleon, considering that the work of the day was finished, had entered a chateau for the purpose of using a foot-bath, which had been prescribed to him for headache. The corps of Sebetendorff, stationed at Puzzuolo, hearing the cannonade, had marched by the left bank of the river to assist their Commander-in-chief; and the advanced guard, approaching the town, had proceeded as far as the quarters of Bonaparte, before they were observed. The sentinel on duty had barely time to close the gates, and cry *To arms!* Hurrying through the garden behind the house, with but one boot on, Napoleon mounted his

NEUTRALITY OF VENICE.

horse, and galloping towards the division of Massena, which had not crossed the river, and was busy in preparing dinner, raised the alarm. The drums instantly beat up, and the Austrians, little contemplating how rich a prize had been within their grasp, precipitately retired in the same direction as Beaulieu, on the line of the Adige. It was the danger here incurred that first induced Napoleon to institute a corps of *Guides*, consisting of veterans of at least ten years' service, whose duty was to guard the person and quarters of the General-in-chief; and who were seldom otherwise employed, except in circumstances requiring the most determined efforts of valour. This body was the germ of the celebrated Imperial Guard. The command was entrusted to Major Bessieres, next to Murat the best cavalry officer in the army, who subsequently became Duke of Istria, and a Marshal of France.

On entering the territory of Venice, Napoleon, in order to justify or excuse infringement of the neutrality of that state, issued a proclamation; declaring, that he came not to interfere with the government or customs of the people, but solely to drive out the troops of their mutual enemies, the Austrians, who had found refuge within the Republic; and that, whatever was required for the use of the French army, should be punctually paid for. The Senate urged its non-interference; but, having wanted the power to enforce its remonstrances against Beaulieu, who was already in possession of several fortresses and towns on the Venetian *terra firma*, it could scarcely be expected that Napoleon should have entertained more scrupulous respect for local boundaries than his opponent, when that respect could only have redounded to the advantage of the latter. The State was, in fact, too weak to pretend to dictate to either party; and its Commissioners, after a slight waste of time in arguing the subject, consented to an arrangement, under which the French were to occupy such of the Venetian dependencies as fell within the line of the Adige, till after the expulsion of the Austrians; and the Senate was to supply the army with all ordinary provisions, at a price to be afterwards settled.

While Napoleon advanced to urge the siege of Mantua, Massena was directed, agreeably to the Venetian agreement, to take possession of Verona, and to guard the passes of the Tyrol. With the exception of the citadel of Milan, which was too feeble to be considered of much importance, and for the reduction of which a small body of troops was

SIEGE OF MANTUA.

deemed sufficient, Mantua was the last stronghold of the Austrians in Italy. It was garrisoned by fifteen thousand effective men, and was by nature almost impregnable. The position, however, which enabled it to defy assault, was peculiarly favourable to a blockading army, and rendered the city liable to be reduced by famine in a shorter space than many places of less strength and extent. It is situated on a kind of island, five or six leagues square, called the Seraglio, between three lakes, formed by the waters of the Mincio, and is accessible by five dykes or causeways only: three of which were defended by regular fortresses, and the other two by gates, drawbridges, and batteries. The site is low and swampy, and the air during the hot months exceedingly pestilential, especially to strangers. Napoleon sat down before the city in the beginning of June, eager to carry it before Beaulieu should receive his expected reinforcements from Germany.

There is little doubt that the fall of Toulon, where the usual operations of a siege had been materially abridged, must have been ominously remembered by the Austrians, when they saw the young General invest Mantua. His commencement was auspicious. Four of the causeways were taken by storm on the 4th of June, when the General-in-chief, who led the assault on the Fauxbourg of St. George, was near entering the city and completing his work at a blow. But,

SUBMISSION OF NAPLES.

though this consummation was not attained, the result was still important: all communication with the main land, except by the causeway defended by the citadel, and named, from the ducal palace near it, *La Favorita*, was entirely cut off; so that the blockade could be maintained with half the number actually cooped-up within the walls. Drawing lines of circumvallation therefore round the fortress, and leaving Serrurier with eight thousand men to prosecute the siege, Napoleon returned to Milan, to reduce the citadel, and arrange some other pressing business connected with his position in Italy.

At this period, the King of Naples, alarmed by the progress and successes of the French, solicited an armistice; which, as his secession from the allies would withdraw some valuable cavalry from the army of Beaulieu, and would also prevent a diversion being made in that General's favour from the south, was readily granted. Genoa, where the intrigues of the Austrian minister and of the emissaries of England had incited the Imperial fiefs to insurrection, was soon humbled by Murat. Lannes reduced these districts; while Napoleon made a progress through Tortona, Placenza, Parma, Reggio, and Modena—the people everywhere hailing him as the Liberator of Italy, and calling aloud for freedom—to Bologna, where the senators brought out their Golden Book, to shew him the names of his ancestors inscribed among the most distinguished of their nobles. In short, the march of the French was everywhere a triumphal procession. City vied with city in doing honour to the victor, and in testifying the enthusiastic admiration which every class professed to feel for his extraordinary genius and the moderation of his conduct.

At Ferrara, which was one of the papal legations, and had been occupied by Augereau, a Cardinal was taken at the head of four hundred men; who, being permitted to depart on his parole, sent word shortly afterwards, when summoned to return to head-quarters, that the Pope had absolved him from his engagement—an assumption of the obsolete powers of dispensation which created considerable mirth among the Republican officers.

The Holy See, deprived of all external support, and seeing the hopelessness of its condition, was now also solicitous for peace. An armistice was accordingly granted, under which the Pope was to pay twenty-one million francs in money, to give up a hundred of the finest

ADVANCE OF WURMSER.

pictures and statues in the galleries of the Vatican, and to surrender the fortress of Ancona to the French; who were also to remain in possession of Ferrara, Bologna, and Urbino.

A few days afterwards, Murat surprised Leghorn, and seized English merchandise there, to the value of twelve millions of francs. It had been hoped that many English ships would have been likewise taken in the port; but notice of the intended visitation had been received a few days before, and they had all set sail for Corsica.

The citadel of Milan surrendered on the 29th of June, and immediately afterwards Napoleon returned to Mantua, and made an attempt to surprise that fortress; but failing in this, he turned his anxious thoughts towards the cloud which began to darken the frontier of the Tyrol.

The Austrian government, having become dissatisfied with Beaulieu, had recently recalled him, and appointed Melas to the temporary command, till Wurmser could arrive from the Upper Rhine to relieve Mantua, and prosecute the war with more vigour. The aged Marshal, who was considered the best general in the Austrian army, had been furnished with thirty thousand men from the army of the Rhine; which, added to those sent from the different dependencies of the empire, the recruits raised by the General-in-chief in his progress, the remnant of Beaulieu's troops, and the garrison of Mantua, raised the forces at his command on entering Italy to nearly a hundred thousand men. This number, compared to that of the French army, which could not muster above thirty thousand men under arms, appeared to be overwhelming: and it is certain that Napoleon did not contemplate the fearful odds entirely without distrust. He was for the first time reduced to act on the defensive, and to watch the turn of events, instead of shaping them. The drooping spirits of the Austrian party began to revive; and the old proverb was insultingly repeated to the French, that "Italy was the tomb of the Gaul."

Towards the end of July, Wurmser had fixed his head-quarters at Trent, above Lake Garda; where he assembled his whole army, and prepared to take the field. His plan for the intended campaign was soon unmasked. He divided his troops into three bodies. The left, under Melas, was ordered to descend the Adige, and drive the French from Verona; the right, under Quasdonowich, was to proceed down

ABANDONMENT OF MANTUA.

the valley of Chiesa to Brescia, and turning the rear of the French army cut off its retreat to Milan; while Wurmser himself, with the centre, proposed to advance by the Mincio, and raise the siege of Mantua,—which city he considered to be the fixed point of his adversary. The defect in these dispositions was precisely that which had led to the first reverses of Beaulieu. The different divisions of the army were separated without a possibility of supporting or communicating with each other; and thus, in effect, the enemy had the option of acquiring a local superiority at any single point of concentration. Napoleon was not likely to overlook this blunder, nor to fail in drawing advantage from it.

On the night of the 31st of July, Bonaparte ordered that the siege of Mantua should be raised. The platforms and carriages of the besieging train were therefore burned, the powder thrown into the water, the cannon spiked, and the shot buried in the trenches. To resolve on this sacrifice required a degree of courage such as few men possess: but with Napoleon all secondary objects were invariably made subservient to his main purpose. The abandonment of the blockade was so sudden, and apparently so unpremeditated, that Wurmser, on arriving at Mantua, found strong indications of a precipitate flight rather than a deliberate retreat. It was the wish of Bonaparte that this should be his antagonist's impression, forming as it did an admirable mask for the designs the former had speedily to reduce to action.

The right wing of the enemy was already debouching from the mountains; and the valleys on both sides of the lake swarmed with Austrian troops. Augereau and Massena, leaving their rear-guards at Borghetto and Peschiera, to defend, while it was possible, the line of the Adige, advanced upon Brescia. The division of D'Allemagne rushed onward to meet D'Ocksay at Lonato; while Soret proceeded to disengage General Guieux, who had been left in a disadvantageous position at Salo. At Lonato and Salo the Austrians were entirely routed; and Quasdonowich, finding himself insulated at Brescia, and conceiving, from the reports of his scouts, that the whole French army was advancing on him from different points, retreated with all possible haste towards his old quarters in the Tyrol. Generals D'Espinous and Herbin were left to pursue this flying column; and on

DISGRACE OF VALETTE.

the 2nd of August, Bonaparte, with the divisions of Augereau and Massena, returned by a rapid counter-march to the Mincio, to rejoin the rear guards which had been left there. These, as was expected, had been compelled to retreat, and the enemy had forced the river. The post of Augereau having been abandoned too soon and in disorder, General Valette was cashiered in presence of the troops for misconduct—a rare example of want of gallantry in a French officer serving under Napoleon. Massena's rear-guard had reached Lonato in good order.

Becoming anxious for the fate of his right wing, Wurmser ordered Liptay and Bayalitsch to effect a junction with Quasdonowich; which could only be done by cutting a passage through the divisions of Augereau and Massena. Accordingly, at day-break on the 3rd, the Austrians advanced upon Lonato, and after a vigorous attack overthrew the rear-guard of Massena, now, in consequence of that general's counter-

JUNOT.

march, become the van, and took the position. In their anxiety to open a communication with Quasdonowich, however, the Imperial Generals had extended their line too far to the right ; and thus weakened their centre so greatly, that Massena, who saw the opportunity, seized it for an attack, and pouring two columns upon Lonato broke the enemy's line, and retook the post at the point of the bayonet. The Austrians, finding their line cut asunder, were stricken with terror and dismay. The right attempted to push forward and join Quasdonowich ; but were met by Soret returning from Salo, and the greater portion surrendered. The left, under Liptay, was attacked by Augereau, and, being driven from Castiglione with much slaughter, fled in inextricable confusion in every direction that seemed for the moment to offer a chance of escape.

Junot, who had attained the rank of Brigadier-General, and Aide-de-camp to Napoleon, greatly distinguished himself at the battle of Lonato. Being ordered with the company of Guides to pursue the Austrian cavalry, he overtook a regiment of Hussars, and making a

détour, to avoid charging in their rear, took them in front, wounded the colonel, whom he sought to make prisoner, and at length, after being surrounded, and killing six of the enemy with his own hand, fell covered with sabre cuts, and was thrown into a ditch for dead.

LONATO.

It is impossible to imagine any discomfiture and disarray of an army to exceed that of the Austrians after these defeats. Several thousand soldiers wandered about in detached bands, among the mountains, and through the valleys, unable, from their ignorance of the language of the country, to obtain any intelligence, and therefore uncertain of the fate of their comrades and commanders, for several days; while whole battalions, overwhelmed with apprehension, and beginning to entertain a superstitious misgiving as to their enemy's power and ubiquity, laid down their arms.

A remarkable instance of the want of confidence and the prostration of spirit, which continued bad fortune had produced among the Austrians, occurred in the afternoon of the 4th. Four or five thousand stragglers, anxious to find means of reaching Mantua, arrived about five o'clock at Lonato, and learned that the place was occupied by not more than twelve hundred French troops. The Commander of the division sent a flag of truce to summon the town to surrender. Napoleon, coming from Catiglione, entered Lonato as the flag was brought in. With the presence of mind which seldom forsook him,

CASTIGLIONE.

he called his numerous staff around him, ordered that the officer should be called in and his eyes unbandaged, in the midst of a scene resembling the state and bustle of the head-quarters of a Commander-in-chief. "What means this insolence?" he sternly exclaimed. "Do you presume to beard the General-in-chief in the midst of his army? I will hold all the officers of your division responsible for this insult. Begone—and inform those who sent you, that unless within eight minutes they lay down their arms, I promise them no mercy." The Austrian, recognising Napoleon, stammered out an apology and withdrew; and within the given time the whole corps, believing they had been deceived respecting the number of the French, laid down their arms—to discover, when too late, that if they had used the least prudence or precaution, nothing could have prevented Napoleon from becoming their prisoner.

Wurmser, meanwhile, had been occupied at Mantua in furnishing supplies to the garrison, and sending troops in a vain pursuit of Serrurier, towards Marcaria. On the 4th, he learned the defeat of Quasdonowich, and the total destruction of the divisions sent to form a junction with him; and hastily recalling all the scattered portions of the army that were capable of being collected, he immediately advanced against Castiglione; where Napoleon was now concentrating his forces, to strike a decisive blow and end the campaign.

Before day-light on the 5th, the French army, twenty thousand strong, occupied the heights of Castiglione. Serrurier, with his division of five thousand men, had been directed to march all night from Marcaria, and fall on the rear of Wurmser's left at dawn. It had been concerted, that the firing of this division should be the signal for battle. In order to give greater effect to the attack, the French army made a feint of retreating; but, on the report of the first guns of the corps of Serrurier (who being ill had his place supplied by General Fiorella), the troops suddenly wheeled round and advanced briskly on the enemy. The little hill of Medole, in the midst of the plain, supported Wurmser's left, and formed a strong position. Verdière and Marmont were ordered to take it; and at the first charge the guns were deserted. Massena attacked the right, Augereau the centre, and Fiorella the left flank. The Austrians were completely routed; their head-quarters were surprised by the cavalry, and

FLIGHT OF WURMSER.

Wurmser himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner ; and nothing but the excessive fatigue of the French troops could have saved even a wreck of that immense army which, a few days before, had descended to the plains so confident of victory. Wurmser fled beyond the Mincio, hoping to rally his troops and make a stand there : but, being pursued by the French, he abandoned post after post, till he reached the distant towns of Roveredo and Trent ; when the exhausted French soldiers forsook the chase, to seek an interval of repose.

In the battles and skirmishes which took place between the 30th of July and the 12th of August, Wurmser lost fifteen thousand prisoners, seventy pieces of cannon, nine stand of colours, and twenty-five thousand killed and wounded. The loss of the French was about seven thousand men. During the first seven days of the campaign, Napoleon had never taken off his boots, nor slept, except by starts ; and the exertions of all the officers and men were such as to appear almost incredible. The result, besides the total discomfiture of the Austrians, was the recovery by the French of all the positions they had lost on the Adige and the Mincio ; while Wurmser's sole achievement, to compensate for the loss of all his artillery, stores, and forty thousand men, was the reinforcement and revictualling of Mantua.

It has been already noticed, that the prospect of French reverses elicited an expression of feeling from the Italians very different to the admiration and attachment previously manifested for the Republican cause. The few days that elapsed between the abandonment of

CARDINAL MATTEI.

Mantua and the battle of Castiglione, has been aptly termed by Napoleon himself "a revelation." At Pavia, Cremona, Casal, Modena, Ferrara, and Rome, the populace insulted the French wherever they appeared; and in some places rose in arms to expel them. At Ferrara, especially, Cardinal Mattei, the Archbishop, incited the citizens to revolt, and took possession of the citadel, on which he hoisted the banner of the Church. The Pope also sent a legate thither, in direct violation of the existing armistice. And the Venetian Senate, convinced that the success of the French would destroy their own oligarchy, secretly assisted the Austrians with money and provisions. The priests throughout the country openly preached a crusade against the invaders, whom they characterized as the enemies of God and of justice, no less than of national and individual right. Cardinal Mattei alone was called to account for these manifold defections. After the defeat of Wurmser, he was arrested; and, being brought

FIDELITY OF THE LOMBARDS.

into the presence of Napoleon, expressed his contrition and humility by the single word, *Peccavi*. The General had no leisure to make examples, and was therefore content to impose on him a three months' penance in a convent at Brescia. But though, for the present, all punishment was suspended, the conduct which had merited it was not forgotten.

The people of Lombardy had remained quiet during these turmoils; and at Milan had evinced an active adherence to the French interests, by repressing all zeal for the Imperial troops: a circumstance which exceedingly gratified Napoleon, and induced him to write to the municipal authorities in the following terms:—"When the French army retreated, and the partisans of Austria considered that the cause of liberty was crushed, you—though you knew not that this retreat was merely a stratagem—still proved constant in your attachment to France and your love of freedom. You have thus deserved the esteem of the French nation. Your people become daily more worthy of liberty, and will shortly appear with glory on the theatre of the world. Accept the assurance of my satisfaction, and of the sincere wishes of the French people to see you free and happy." Such approbation drew closer the ties of affection and sympathy between the

soldiers of the Republic and their proselytes; and gave an impetus to the revolutionary spirit, which, notwithstanding the exertions of its opponents, was widely spreading through every province of Italy.

ROVEREDO.

Wurmser, after all his losses, was able to muster forty thousand men ; so that his army, in point of numbers, was still superior to that of Napoleon. The abatement of courage and demoralization of the Austrian army, however, and the increased confidence with which such an unimagined career of victory had inspired the French, rendered one battalion of the latter, in the opinion of competent judges, equal to four of the former. But, however disheartened his troops might be, the fortitude of Wurmser himself was unshaken. A reinforcement of twenty thousand soldiers was sent from Austria to enable him once more to take the field. At the head of thirty thousand men he marched from Trent, by the lower Adige, to relieve Mantua, which had been again invested by the French ; though, from the loss of their excellent besieging train, the operations of the troops were now limited to those of a blockade — so strict, however, that the enemy was kept entirely within the walls. Davidowich, meanwhile, was left with twenty-five thousand men at Roveredo, in charge of the Tyrol : where an invasion was apprehended from Moreau and Jourdan, who had made their way into the heart of Germany, by the banks of the Rhine. This separation of Wurmser's was another of those ill-advised projects, of the error of which it seemed nothing could convince the Austrian chiefs.

Napoleon, whose army had been recruited with eight thousand troops from La Vendée, and consequently again amounted to thirty thousand men, instantly perceived the vantage ground afforded him ; and, suffering Wurmser to advance unmolested till the distance betwixt him and Davidowich was too great to permit their communication with each other, he then collected his forces, and prepared for a deadly spring upon the Austrian reserve. Leaving Kilmaine with three thousand men to cover the blockade of Mantua, he proceeded to Verona, where, dividing his army on both banks of the Adige, he executed a march upon Roveredo, of such celerity, as could only have been rendered credible by its accomplishment.

The battle of Roveredo commenced at day-break on the 4th of September. Before approaching the town it was necessary to force the strongly entrenched camp of Mori, which after a brave defence was effected by the division of Vaubois ; which pushed on, after this success, in the direction of Trent. General Pigeon with the vanguard

CALLIANO.

of Massena overthrew Wukassowich, on the left bank of the river, and drove him to the camp of St. Mark. A desperate attack was then made upon the enemy's main body. The resistance was at first obstinate; but Napoleon, perceiving some wavering among the Austrians, ordered General Dubois to charge with five hundred hussars. This movement broke their line. The brave Dubois, however, fell mortally wounded with three bullets, at the moment of success. "I die for the Republic," he exclaimed, waving his sword above his head, to cheer his men onward; "but ere life leaves me, bring me word that the victory is ours." The French soldiers entered the town intermixed with the enemy, who were therefore unable to rally, till they reached the mountain-gorge beyond Roveredo, through which the Adige descends, after passing Calliano. The entrance to this defile is very narrow; and the brow of the precipice on either side is strongly fortified and mounted with artillery: but nothing could resist the impetuous ardour of the French soldiers. They rushed into the pass, sweeping the cavalry, artillery, and infantry in confusion before them, carried the position at the point of the bayonet, and utterly routed the enemy. The fruits of the victory were seven thousand prisoners, and fifteen pieces of cannon. Davidowich with the wreck of his army fled to Lavis, beyond Trent, where, being pursued by Vaubois, he was again defeated, and compelled to penetrate deeper into the passes of the Tyrol.

Wurmser, supposing it to be Bonaparte's determination to advance through the Tyrol upon Inspruck, to effect a junction with the Army of the Rhine, pushed on to Mantua, in hopes of being able to cut off the French retreat through Italy, should any disaster overtake them in their new field of enterprise. It was not Napoleon's intention, however, to leave his work unfinished: and he had much to do before his conquests could be safely entrusted to the keeping of the slender garrisons he had left behind. Contenting himself, therefore, with publishing a proclamation to the Tyrolese, in which he exhorted them to receive the French as friends, and to seize the opportunity to free themselves for ever from the dominion of Austria, he turned once more towards the plains of Italy, with a prospect of being able to annihilate the Imperial army, before any new succours could reach it. Wurmser, as if in defiance of experience and fate, had again weakened

DEFEAT OF WURMSER.

his army by dividing it; and Bonaparte, by a march of sixty miles in two days, through a difficult country, at a bad season, and without baggage or provisions, returned from Trent to Primolano, surprised and defeated the Austrian van there; and, being now entirely exhausted, halted for the night at the village of Cismone. Here, half dead with hunger and fatigue, the General-in-chief was glad to partake with a private soldier a ration of bread for his supper—a circumstance of which the soldier lived to remind him after he became Emperor.

On the next day Napoleon advanced to Bassano, where a battle, with the same result as all that had preceded it, was fought on the 8th. Six thousand men surrendered. Quasdonowich, with four thousand others, escaped to Friuli; and Wurmser, who, out of the sixty thousand soldiers with whom a few days previously he had quitted Trent, had but sixteen thousand remaining, was looking anxiously in every direction for the means of crossing the Adige, to take refuge, as a last resort, in Mantua. The situation of the Marshal was the most unhappy and critical that can be imagined. Cut off from all communication with Germany, the flower of his army destroyed, his baggage and artillery lost, and the French manœuvring to surround him—nothing but a mistake could have saved even a remnant of his troops. The commanding officer at Legnano, conceiving that the attempt to cross the river would be made at Verona, hastened thither with his corps, leaving the bridge standing at the position he had quitted; and, consequently, affording the Austrians an opportunity, of which they availed themselves, to pass there without interruption. After a series of skirmishes, almost miraculous escapes, and difficulties of the most perplexing and harassing description, Wurmser was at length enabled to throw himself into Mantua. In one of the conflicts of this period, Napoleon was for a moment surrounded by the Austrians; and had only time to turn round and clap spurs to his horse, to whose speed he owed his safety, ere Wurmser arrived on the spot. The brave veteran, informed by an aged female of the presence and flight of his adversary, sent every way in pursuit of him; with special directions, however, to take him alive.

The last stand made by the Austrian General was immediately below the walls of Mantua, in the suburb of St. George. Here, on the 15th of September, after immense slaughter, the French drove the

ADVANCE OF ALVINZI.

enemy into the citadel, and shortly afterwards obtaining possession of all the causeways, the blockade was once more complete.

Without an enemy in the field, the French army now sought to recruit their energies, depressed with so many fatigues and privations. Marmont was despatched to Paris with the colours and standards (twenty-two) taken during the last campaign; Napoleon repaired to Milan, to assist the Commissioners of the Directory in framing plans for the government of the proposed Italian Republics; and his Generals, with their divisions, went into pleasant quarters in the various captured towns of the Lombard, Venetian, Roman, and Tyrolese States.

The Austrian Ministers, whose spirit was indomitable, no sooner learned the situation of Wurmser, than they prepared another powerful army to rescue him, and retrieve their disgrace and losses. This they were the better enabled to do, in consequence of the defeat of the French Armies of the Rhine and the Sambre and Meuse, which had just been driven out of Germany; thus rendering the frontier capable of being defended by a much less force than had been required to oppose the advance of Jourdan and Moreau. Forty-five thousand men were accordingly raised, and placed under the command of Marshal Alvinzi, a veteran of high reputation. These troops began to assemble at Friuli in the beginning of October. Davidowich, having filled up his own skeleton regiments, and those of Quasdonowich, with recruits from among the bold and hardy peasantry of the Tyrol, to the number of about eighteen thousand men, took post about the same time above Trent. The Sovereign Pontiff, elated with these demonstrations, began to levy troops, and again to employ his spiritual powers in aid of the Austrians, and to discourage the French: while Naples, ever vacillating in action, but always unfavourable in sentiment towards the Republic, only waited an opportunity to take part, without compromising its own interests too deeply, with the Imperialists.

Napoleon in vain requested additional troops from France; urging, that it was utterly impossible for the small army then at his disposal, to maintain its ground against the whole power of Austria. It was not in his nature, however, to despair, or to wait for assistance which might never reach him, while independent resources were yet at his

FRENCH REVERSES.

command. His troops were in good condition, well fed, clothed, and paid; elated with the prodigies they had performed; proud of their own prowess, and confident in the skill and good fortune of their Leader. The advance of the Austrians, therefore, was regarded by the soldiers without apprehension, and merely as offering a higher ground for the acquisition of glory; though these sanguine hopes were not generally shared by the officers. The population, too, of the various States occupied by the French, was disposed to make common cause with the Republicans, and offered to furnish the Commander-in-chief with several volunteer corps to keep in check the levies of the Pope.

On the 2nd of November, Alvinzi with fifty thousand men crossed the Piave, and marched upon Bassano. Massena, who was posted there, and desired to avoid a battle and gain time, slowly fell back on Vicenza; where, being joined by Napoleon and the division of Augereau, an engagement took place on the 5th, which compelled the Austrians to recross the Brenta: but Napoleon, unable to take advantage of his success, cautiously retreated to Verona. Here he arrived in time to rally the division of Vaubois, and to secure the positions of Montebaldo and Rivoli from falling into the hands of the enemy. The corps of Vaubois, having been attacked by Davidowich at Trent, had been driven thence, and passed the stronghold of Calliano in total disorder. At Rivoli, the General-in-chief reviewed them. "Soldiers!" he exclaimed, "you have displeased me. You have shewn neither courage nor constancy; but have yielded positions, where a handful of men might have defied an army. You are no longer French soldiers. Let it be written on their colours—'They no longer form part of the Army of Italy.'" This severe rebuke affected the sturdy soldiers to tears. A gloomy silence pervaded the ranks for a moment; but a relenting glance was observed in Napoleon's eye, and a veteran exclaimed: "General! place us once more in the van; you shall then judge whether we belong to the Army of Italy." This request was subsequently complied with; and, during the remainder of the campaign, no regiments were more distinguished than the 39th and the 85th.

The Tyrol, and all the country between the Brenta and the Adige, was now in the occupation of Alvinzi; who forthwith took up a position upon the heights of Caldiero, on the left bank of the Adige, nearly

DISCONTENT.

opposite to Verona. An attempt was made on the 12th to dislodge him; but the strength of his position, his superiority in numbers and artillery, and the torrents of rain which fell during the day, rendered the effort abortive: and Massena, after losing a great number of men, retired again to the camp at Verona. The victory in this instance belonged to the Austrians; who now advancing to St. Michel, threatened the French garrison, and rendered the situation of the whole army extremely precarious.

These reverses, and the sickness which prevailed among the troops, from the pestilential air of the marshes, and the constant bad weather, produced considerable irritation and discontent. The soldiers complained, that in the recent actions, the number of the enemy had been as three to one; that they were abandoned by France; and that if Alvinzi's army should be destroyed like its predecessors, of which there seemed little prospect, its place would be supplied by another of equal magnitude, till the French, worn out in the hopeless struggle, and deprived of honour, must finally sink beneath overwhelming numbers. Napoleon, to counteract these desponding feelings, caused an address to be circulated through the ranks. "We have but one more effort to make," he said, "and Italy is ours. The troops of Alvinzi, though more numerous, are half recruits, and have not the valour of Frenchmen." Words of cheerful exhortation were added; and the spirits of the men were re-animated for the contest. A singular proof of the enthusiasm which the ardour of the young General was capable of infusing into his followers was afforded at this period. The sick and wounded, who had been left at Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Bologna, and other places, hearing of the disasters which had befallen their comrades, quitted the hospitals, and came, with their wounds still bleeding, to join the ranks. It was a sight to inspire the veriest coward.

On the 14th of November, the camp at Verona had orders to get under arms by nightfall; when, leaving fifteen hundred men under Kilmaine to defend the city, with orders to keep the gates closed, and to suffer no communication from without, Bonaparte commenced a retrograde march towards Peschiera. The deepest silence was observed; but the hour, the direction, the general state of affairs, all indicated a retreat; and whispered forebodings passed among the men, that Italy

ARCOLA.

was lost. After passing a short distance down the road, however, the troops were suddenly wheeled to the left, ordered to march down the Adige, before dawn reached Ronco, where Andreossi had already prepared a bridge for their passage, and, with the first rays of morning on the 15th, found themselves at the head of the dykes of Arcola, in the enemy's rear. The plan of the Commander-in-chief began now to be understood. Finding himself unable to storm the position of Alvinzi in front, he had turned it, and brought the battle to a field where the bravery of a few would be of more avail than any strength derived from numbers. Hopes of victory returned, and every man vowed to surpass his former deeds in order to secure it.

The morasses, which spread over the country about Arcola, are traversed from Ronco by three causeways; one leading towards Verona, another to Villa Nuova, through the village of Arcola, and the third to Albaredo. These roads had been left unguarded by the Austrians, as impracticable for military operations—Alvinzi contenting himself with ordering them to be visited by patrols thrice a day. Upon these the French now entered. The skirmishers of the centre column reached the bridge of Arcola unperceived, about five in the morning. With such secrecy and celerity, indeed, had the whole manœuvre been executed, that the enemy had not the least suspicion of a movement till the two battalions of Croats, stationed at the bridge as a corps of observation, received a volley of French shot. The bridge was defended with two pieces of cannon, so placed as to enfilade the causeway. These returned the fire of the advancing column so heavily, that the leading files fell hastily back. Alvinzi, being informed of this attack, treated it at first as a mere affair of light troops; but as the day advanced, he could perceive from the heights of Caldiero and the neighbouring steeples, that the French were in force upon all the dykes: yet still, he could not believe that Napoleon had quitted Verona, to trust the fate of his army to that wilderness of morasses. He ordered a division to advance, however, upon each of the causeways, and to drive all they might encounter into the river. Massena, who commanded the column upon the left dyke, suffered his opponents to advance for some distance; then, charging furiously, broke their ranks, and took a great number of prisoners.

To be able to debouch upon the enemy's rear, it was necessary to

ARCOLA.

gain possession of Arcola ; and every nerve was accordingly strained to accomplish this object: but the firing was incessant, and the troops were unable to sustain it. As a last effort, Napoleon seized a standard, rushed upon the bridge, and planted it there, amid a storm of bullets. The grenadiers who followed him had half cleared the bridge, when a fresh body of Austrians arrived, and the fire flashed with redoubled fierceness. The rear of the French column fell back, and those in front, finding themselves unsupported, also gave way: but no consideration of their own danger could make them abandon their General. They seized him by the arms, the hair, and the clothes, and dragged him from the bridge through heaps of dead and dying—through a tempest of fire and smoke. In the confusion of the moment, Napoleon was pushed off the causeway into the morass, where he sank to the middle. The Austrian soldiers were already between him and his men ; but the latter instantly missed their chief. A wild cry arose, “ Forward, to save the General ! ” A rush was made towards the bridge—impetuous—irresistible. Another party plunged

into the stream, and, wading through, attacked the enemy in the rear, and threw them into confusion. Nothing could withstand the

ARCOLA.

desperate energy of the French soldiers. Napoleon, when rescued, again hurried across the bridge, and Arcola was taken. If any proof had been needed of the devotion of all ranks of the army to the Commander-in-chief, that day would have amply supplied it. General Lannes, who had been recently wounded, and was still suffering, had hastened from Milan among those attracted by the news of Alvinzi's success; and, in the thickest of the battle, seeing Napoleon in danger, rushed between him and the enemy, received three wounds while covering his body, and never quitted his side again till the battle was closed. Muiron, whose gallantry at Toulon had first recommended him to Bonaparte, and who was now his aide-de-camp, seeing a bomb about to explode, threw himself between it and the General, and thus saved the life of the latter by the sacrifice of his own.

Alvinzi, conscious of the danger of his position with so large a body of the enemy in his rear, hastened to abandon Caldiero, and passed to the firm ground on the opposite side of the Alpon. This movement deprived the victory of most of its importance. Arcola, instead of being in the Austrians' rear, as in the morning, was now merely an intermediate post between the two armies. A great number of prisoners, however, and many trophies, were brought in by the French, which revived the courage of both officers and men; while terror of the name of Bonaparte was stricken deeper into the breasts of the Austrians.

Davidowich had been successfully engaged with the corps of Vaubois, during the same day, at Rivoli. Napoleon feared that he would advance, and, by raising the blockade of Mantua, relieve Wurmser, and cut off the retreat of the French upon Milan. At night, therefore, he evacuated Arcola, and fell back on Ronco, to be ready, if necessary, to march in support of Vaubois upon the corps of Davidowich. Numerous watch-fires and strong piquets were left at the village, to deceive Alvinzi as to the motions of the army. In the course of the night, intelligence was received from Vaubois that his position was secure for at least another day. Bonaparte, upon this, prepared to re-occupy Arcola; but, in the mean time, Alvinzi had discovered the retreat of the French, and again taken possession of the place. The conflict was as well sustained and as deadly on this day as on the preceding, and again the French were victors; but with no more decisive result: for in the evening, Napoleon, from the same

ARCOLA.

motives which actuated him on the 15th, repeated the same retrograde movement.

On the 17th, it having been ascertained that Davidowich had not yet moved, the French returned at daybreak to the well-contested bridge. The battle proceeded as on the two previous days; till Napoleon, by a stratagem, gave it a determinate character. The 32nd regiment was placed in ambuscade in a bed of willows bordering the rivulet; and, upon the column which occupied the Arcola causeway falling back, it rose in the rear of the pursuing Austrians, fired a volley, and charging with the bayonet, pushed the dense corps (consisting of about three thousand Croats) into the morass, where most of them perished. Massena, on the left, after various changes of fortune, charged at the head of his division, with his hat on the point of his sword for a standard, and, after dreadful carnage, routed the column opposed to him.

At noon Napoleon, again in possession of Arcola, received a return of the prisoners; and, after calculating the losses of the enemy, he concluded that the disparity in numbers of the two armies had been so

RETURN TO VERONA.

far reduced, that he might safely leave the marshes, and encounter his opponent upon the plain. He accordingly passed the Alpon, and at two o'clock was in line of battle between Arcola and Legnano, with the enemy immediately in front. For an hour the battle raged fiercely; when, perceiving the moment of lassitude when the best and bravest on both sides would willingly have been in their tents, Napoleon despatched Colonel Hercule with five-and-twenty Guides, and four or five trumpets, through the reedy swamp to the enemy's left, with orders to "blow loud and charge furiously;" and at the same time sent to the troops which had arrived just before from the garrison of Legnano, to attack in the rear. These movements were decisive. The Austrians, imagining that the whole French cavalry was upon them, took to flight, and were chased with great slaughter, as long as daylight permitted, beyond Montebello, on the road to Vicenza. In these three days, the loss of Napoleon is said to have been eight thousand, and that of the Austrians eighteen thousand men, of whom six thousand were taken prisoners, with many guns, and several stands of colours.

In the course of the ensuing day, Napoleon visited the hospital, which had been fitted up in the Convent of St. Boniface, at Villa-Nuova, where, among four or five hundred dead bodies, many of them already in a state of decomposition, he discovered two wounded soldiers, who had lain there for three days, untended and without food. The sight of their chief, and his prompt attention to their wants, recalled these men to existence. Such incidents as this are not unimportant to those who seek the causes of the brilliant military success of Napoleon.

Returning towards Verona, an Austrian staff-officer was taken, who bore despatches from Davidowich to Alvinzi; from which it was ascertained that there had been no communication between the two armies for three days, and that Davidowich was totally ignorant of all that had happened. Without this explanation, the supineness of that General would have been perfectly unintelligible.

It would be difficult to describe the astonishment and joy of the citizens of Verona at the triumphant return of the army by the right bank of the Adige, after its ominous departure, four days before, by the Milan gate. Again were the French masters of Italy: Alvinzi retired

ITALIAN REPUBLICS.

to Bassano; Davidowich, on learning the fate of his Commander-in-chief, hastened back to Trent; and Wurmser, seeing no prospect of being speedily extricated from Mantua, put his troops upon half-rations, determined to hold out to the last extremity.

Two months elapsed before the recommencement of hostilities. The interval was employed by the French General, in erecting those districts which had exhibited the best faith towards France, and the strongest desire to free themselves from the thralldom of their ancient masters, into independent States. Bologna, Ferrara, Reggio, and Modena were constituted a Republic under the name of the Cispadane, from their situation to the south of the Po; and the provinces of Lombardy a Commonwealth, called the Transpadane; both of which were shortly afterwards united as the Cisalpine Republic. Napoleon has been taxed with bad faith in organizing these Italian States; which, it is alleged, were constructed merely to serve a temporary purpose, in giving the French a hold on the fidelity and services of the Italians, in opposition to their former Austrian lords, and in order to alarm and weaken the native Princes and the Pope. If his motives, however, may be judged from his acts, there appears little reason to question his sincerity, or to doubt that his object was the permanent settlement of the governments which he assisted to establish. The Constitutions which were framed under his eye partook in no degree of the early errors of the French Revolution; but were influenced throughout by reason and moderation. The nobles, though deprived of their feudal claims and titular dignities, were subjected to no incapacities. The Church was but slightly interfered with, and that in temporal matters alone; and, in the administration of justice, no distinctions or disqualifications were recognised, but all classes were held to be equally entitled to protection or punishment. Liberty itself, he reminded the deputies, without obedience to the law, can exist in name only. "Never forget," he added, "that laws are mere nullities, without being supported and enforced." He advised that attention should be paid to their military organization; and congratulated them on being more fortunate than France, in arriving at freedom without passing through the ordeal of revolution.

The Italians themselves were delighted with the frankness of the

AUSTRIAN REINFORCEMENTS.

young Conqueror ; and regarded him, as in truth he was, more their own countryman than a Frenchman. Their beautiful language was his mother tongue, his taste had been formed upon their literature ; and even his exactions afforded proof of his love for their arts. His popularity was still further increased, by the difference of tone which he used in speaking of their religion and priesthood, to that adopted on all occasions by the Directory and the Jacobin Generals. He uniformly treated the one with reverence, the other with respect ; and insisted on the same conduct being observed by the soldiers. The policy of Napoleon and that of the Directory was, in short, so dissimilar in all respects, as to appear to proceed from two distinct governments. Perhaps, indeed, a consciousness that it did so in reality had already arisen. At all events, the utter imbecility of the authorities at Paris, and their recklessness with regard to the Army of Italy, were calculated to produce such an impression ; and to lead Napoleon to the conclusion, that it was as justifiable, as it was necessary, for him to act for himself. The result was that the General, and not the Directory, was regarded as arbiter of the fate of Italy. His popularity and power, therefore, though in the midst of a conquered people, need not excite surprise.

The Austrians during this interval were not idle. The spirit and patriotism of the whole Empire had been effectually roused by a threat of Napoleon, that he would speedily advance into the heart of Germany, and dictate terms of peace beneath the walls of Vienna. Numerous volunteer corps, embracing persons of all classes, were everywhere enrolled. The Capital alone furnished four battalions, which were presented by the Empress with a banner wrought by her own hands. And the peasantry of the Tyrol, the best marksmen in Europe, who had all the liberty they cared for under their ancient form of government, and who were easily persuaded that their prosperity depended upon the reconquest of Italy, thronged to the standard of their legal Sovereign. Another vast army was thus collected upon the frontier, to try a fifth struggle for the mastery of Lombardy. In the beginning of January, Alvinzi found himself at the head of upwards of seventy thousand men, prepared again to descend to the plains, with a hope of turning the fortune of the war.

Napoleon, who had not received more than six thousand men to

OPERATIONS.

replace all his recent losses, proceeded warily in arranging his future operations. He disposed his army in the most effective manner, to take advantage of whatever circumstances might arise. Joubert, with a strong division, occupied Montebaldo, Rivoli, and Corona, the latter post being covered with entrenchments; General Rey was at Dezenzano; the lakes of Garda, Maggiore, and Como, were secured by gun-boats; Serrurier was left at Mantua to maintain the blockade; and Augereau had orders to watch the line of the lower Adige. The reserve, under Massena, was concentrated at Verona; whence it might be marched with the greatest rapidity to any point chosen by Alvinzi for his main attack. The Romagna frontier was defended by a Lombard legion, gratefully raised by the Transpadane Republic.

Previously to his descent, the Austrian General despatched a trusty agent to communicate with Wurmser: he was arrested as a spy, however, while passing the last sentinel of the blockading army. Terror induced this person to confess that he had swallowed his instructions, enclosed in a ball of sealing-wax. His stomach was made to surrender its contents; and a small letter, written in a minute hand, and signed by the Emperor himself, was found; in which Wurmser was commanded not to capitulate, but to hold out to the last extremity, in expectation of relief; and if compelled to abandon Mantua, to accept no conditions, but to cut his way through the besieging forces, and put himself at the head of the Papal army. Immediately afterwards the Imperial troops began to advance.

On the 7th of January, Alvinzi, at the head of fifty thousand men, removed his head-quarters from Bassano to Roveredo; and Provera, with a division twenty thousand strong, proceeded by the lower Adige to Padua. The usual Austrian system for the ensuing campaign was thus developed. These fatal double plans of operation seem indeed to have become articles in the military creed of the Empire, which it was esteemed better to fall martyrs in upholding, than to relinquish and live. On the 12th, a spirited action took place at St. Michel; but not of such a kind as to warrant Napoleon in adopting a decisive course. On the 13th, it rained all day: the troops were kept under arms; but it was still doubtful in what direction they ought to march. At ten that evening, despatches arrived from Joubert, who had been engaged from morning, at Corona, with numerous forces of

RIVOLI.

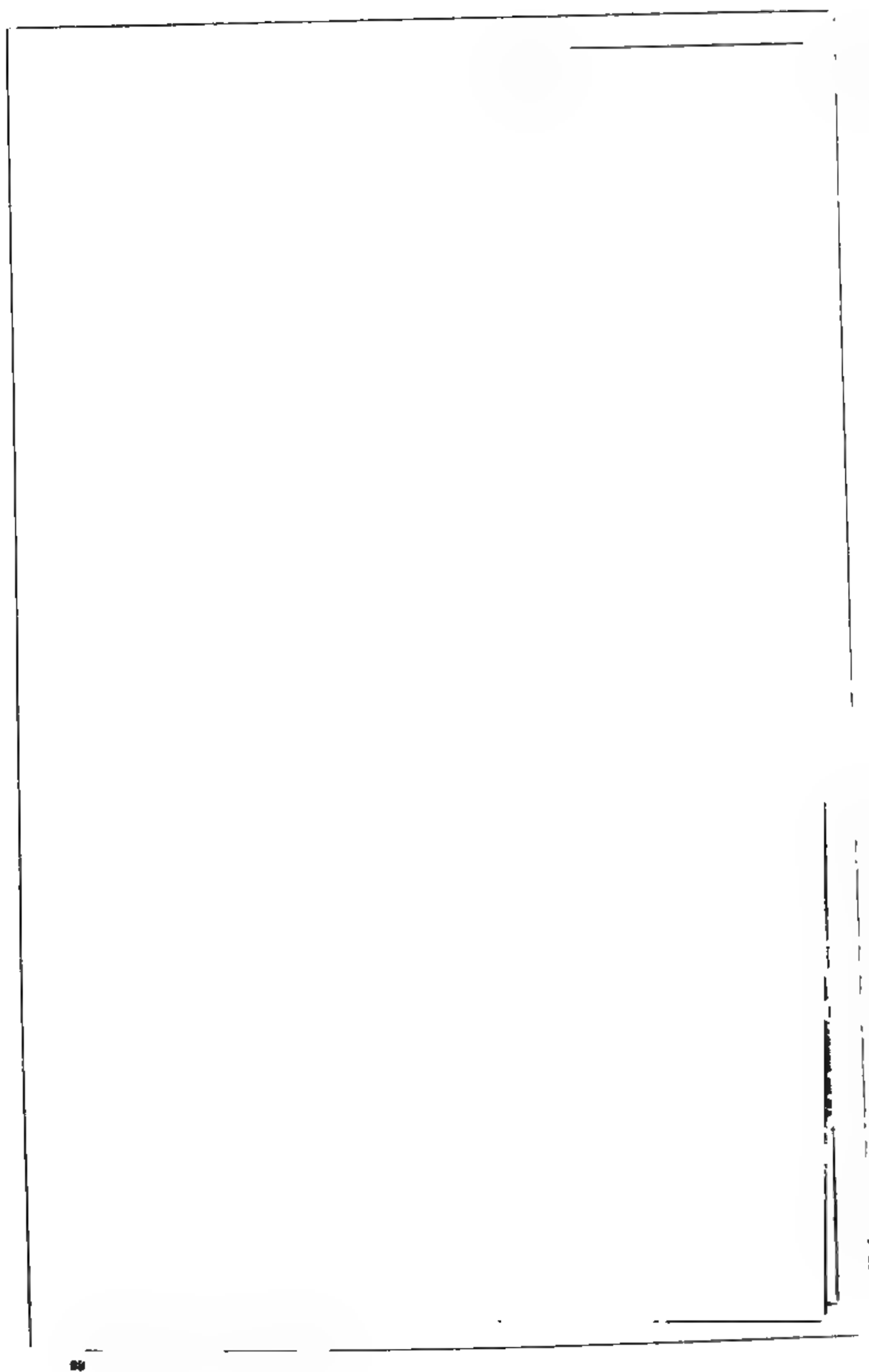
the enemy; and who, though he had beaten back his assailants, had been compelled to evacuate his position, in order to secure the heights of Rivoli, a more important point, from falling into the hands of the Austrians. This intelligence determined Bonaparte. The troops were instantly put in motion, with orders to reach Rivoli before day-break.

Napoleon arrived at this post about two in the morning. As the rain had ceased, and the moon shone forth with unclouded splendour, he ascended the heights to make observations, and was enabled to distinguish, by the line of watch-fires that filled the valley, reddening the atmosphere from the Adige to Lake Garda, that Alvinzi's troops were divided into five columns, encamped at such distances from each other, that they could not be united for effective operation earlier than ten o'clock. From this disposition, it seemed evident that the artillery of

BIVOLI.

rushing to the attack, in less than half an hour the Austrians at this point were put to flight. By a series of well-timed operations, skilfully executed by the various generals, and backed by the artillery from the heights, the enemy was everywhere defeated. One movement of the Imperialists might have produced a different result, had it been duly executed. A division under Lusignan had been sent round to outflank the French, and take higher ground in their rear. On arriving at its destination, however, this corps found itself insulated, and had no alternative but to lay down its arms. The manœuvre was

admirable, and failed only, because, as Napoleon said, "the Austrians were incapable of calculating the value of minutes." During this battle, which was one of the best fought, and most desperate he ever won, the General-in-chief received several wounds and had three horses shot under him. The Austrians lost, besides their killed and



STRATAGEM.

gained. In one, a colonel of German Hussars presenting himself before a squadron of the 9th dragoons, with a braggart air, called upon the latter to surrender: "With our lives only," cried Duvivier, their commandant. The troops on either side halted; and the two chiefs, after exchanging personal defiance, rushed to single combat, in the manner of knights of the ages of chivalry. The Austrian, after being wounded by the sabre of his antagonist, ordered his men to charge. They, however, proved as unsuccessful as their leader, and were nearly all made prisoners.

The vanguard of Provera presented itself at the lines of the suburb of St. George as Napoleon entered Roverbello. An attempt was made to relieve the fortress by stratagem. A corps of cavalry, wearing white cloaks, like the first French regiment of hussars, went up to the barricade, which was an unfortified field entrenchment. The gate was opened without suspicion: but it occurred to an old sergeant, who was gathering wood at a short distance from the spot, that the white cloaks were somewhat too new for those of Berchini's soldiers, which had stood the wear and tear of three campaigns. He communicated his doubts to a drummer near him, and their suspicions agreeing, they ran to the suburb, called *To Arms!* and closed the barrier. The cavalry came up at full gallop; but it was too late: instead of finding a ready admission, they were fired upon with grape-shot from the citadel, and compelled to make a precipitate retreat.

The danger which had been here averted shewed that the utmost vigilance was necessary. The anxiety of Napoleon was so great, that notwithstanding his recent exertions and want of rest, he passed the night in visiting the different outposts. At one of these, he is said (on the authority of an anonymous memoir, published in Paris during the Consulate,) to have found the wearied sentinel asleep at the foot of a tree. The General, without waking him, took his gun, and for some time performed his duty; when, starting from his slumbers, the grenadier recognised his commander. Overcome by terror, he threw himself upon his knees to crave forgiveness. "Your exhaustion, my friend," said Napoleon, "is excusable. You have fought hard and marched long; but a moment's inattention now might ruin the whole army. Happening to be awake, I have kept watch for you. Here is your musket. You must be more careful

LA FAVORITA.

for the future." This anecdote is repeated here, because it has been related by Mr. Lockhart, though somewhat differently to the French version. It has, however, an air of improbability. Reflecting on the duties and responsibilities of a Commander-in-chief, we should be led to stigmatise such connivance at a breach of necessary discipline as a participation in its criminality.

Provera, in the meantime, contrived to send a boat across the lake to concert measures with Wurmser for the relief of the garrison. Accordingly, as soon as it was daylight on the 16th, Wurmser made a sortie at La Favorita. Napoleon, during the night, however, had posted General Victor with the four regiments brought from Rivoli, so as to prevent a junction between the garrison and the relieving army. While Serrurier, therefore, with the blockading troops was engaged with Wurmser, Victor attacked the division of Provera. The battle was obstinately contested. The 57th demi-brigade here acquired the name of *Terrible*. Alone it rushed with the bayonet upon the Austrian line, bearing back or overthrowing all that dared to oppose it. The confusion wrought in the ranks of the enemy by the

RETREAT OF ALVINZI.

intrepid gallantry of this brigade, resembled that of the pass of Calliano. The streets and avenues leading to the fortress were choked with mingled masses of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, trampling on and destroying each other, in vain efforts to escape. At length, about two in the afternoon, the garrison having been driven within the walls, Provera, being surrounded by the French, laid down his arms. Six thousand prisoners, including three generals, twelve or fifteen colonels, twenty guns, many standards—among which was that presented by the Empress to the Volunteers of Vienna—a large quantity of baggage, and some pontoon-trains, constituted the prizes of the day. Of all Provera's troops, about two thousand only escaped from the battle of La Favorita.

Nor did it fare better with the larger army of Alvinzi. He was chased throughout the 15th, and large bodies of his troops intercepted. Joubert marched on Trent, Murat entered the Tyrol, Massena took possession of Bassano, and Augereau of Previsa. The rout and dispersion of the Austrians were complete; and it is probable that few would have escaped, but that the passes of the Tyrol were blocked up with snow, and the guides were less willing to assist the French in the pursuit, than the Austrians in retreating. Of the hopeless terror of the latter, some estimate may be formed from the fact, that about eighteen hundred Imperialists surrendered to a hundred and fifty of their opponents. René, a young French officer, in possession of the village of Garda, while reconnoitring near his post, encountered the head of an Austrian column. "Ground your arms," cried the German commandant. "It is you must lay down yours," exclaimed René, with the utmost confidence and composure. "Lay down your arms!" was echoed by all the French soldiers, whose number was concealed by a turning of the road; and after a moment's hesitation, of which René promptly took advantage to threaten a charge of six thousand men, the whole corps surrendered!

From the descent of Alvinzi, not ten days before, the Austrians had lost twenty-five thousand prisoners, twenty-five standards, sixty pieces of cannon, and at least six thousand men in killed and wounded. Bessieres was sent with the new trophies to Paris.

After these decisive actions, Wurmser was no longer in a condition to maintain the defence of Mantua. The troops had long been

TREATY FOR CAPITULATION.

put upon half rations; and all the horses within the walls had been eaten. This Napoleon knew, from the prisoners taken at La Favorita. The garrison was, therefore, summoned to surrender; but the high-spirited Marshal answered, that he had provisions for a twelvemonth. This pardonable vaunt could be sustained, however, but for a few days; at the end of which he sent his chief aide-de-camp, General Klenau, to the head-quarters of Serrurier, with proposals for capitulation. The usual, but perfectly understood, artifices of such occasions were employed. The envoy spoke of the great resources of his chief, and the power he still possessed to protract the siege, unless honourable terms were granted. The interview took place in a tent at Roverbella. A French officer was present during the conference, sitting unobserved in a corner, wrapped in his military cloak. As the discussion proceeded, he came to the table, and taking a pen, employed himself in writing marginal notes on the paper containing the Austrian

proposals. At length, turning to Klenau, who in all likelihood had taken him for a mere camp secretary, he said: "These are the conditions I am willing to grant the Marshal, whose age, bravery, and misfortunes alike deserve an honourable capitulation. He may have them to-morrow; or, if he delay a week, or a month, no worse shall be offered to him. Tell him, meanwhile, that General Bonaparte is

SURRENDER OF MANTUA.

about to pass the Po and march on Rome." Surprised to find himself in the presence of the General-in-chief, and pleased with the liberal terms offered, Klenau frankly avowed that the garrison had not provisions for above three days.

The capitulation was forthwith signed: and on the 2nd of February, Wurmser, with his garrison of twenty thousand men, marched out of Mantua. Napoleon, with a feeling of noble-minded delicacy, withdrew from the humiliating spectacle, and went to Bologna; leaving Serrurier to receive the aged Marshal's sword. This dignified self-denial was remarked throughout Europe; and has been aptly compared to the chivalrous generosity of the Black Prince, towards his royal prisoner King John of France. The Directory, in reminding Napoleon that Wurmser was an emigrant royalist, had hinted at a very different line of conduct; but the reply of the young General is of a piece with his actions: "I have afforded the Austrian commander," said he, "such conditions as were due to a gallant, but unfortunate enemy, from the French Republic." Wurmser, grateful for the personal as well as public favour shewn him, sent, a few days afterwards, to apprise Napoleon of a conspiracy which had been formed to poison him in the Roman States—a notice to which Bonaparte was probably indebted for his life.

The surrender of Mantua placed the French in possession of upwards of five hundred brass cannon, and immense military stores; and Angereau was sent to Paris with sixty stands of colours for the Directory. The exultation of the populace on such an occasion needs no description to be appreciated by those who have ever witnessed the rejoicings of a whole people, for a victory which was thought to redound to the national glory.

The Austrians being now wholly expelled from Italy, Napoleon had leisure to turn upon the Pope; who, relying on the success of the German armies, and being somewhat harshly dealt with by the French Directory, had ventured to set the armistice of Bologna at defiance, to raise his military force to forty thousand men, and to preach a holy war against the French, as foreigners, heretics, and invaders. Immediately after the battle of La Favorita, General Victor, with four thousand infantry and six hundred horse, had been despatched to Bologna, to join an Italian division of about the same

PASSAGE OF THE SENIO.

number, commanded by La Hoz. The head-quarters of these troops was now fixed at Imola ; a little in advance of which, a Papal army, of about eight thousand men, lay encamped, to dispute the passage of the river Senio. This force, which was headed by Cardinal Busca, the Roman Secretary of State, was but little calculated to oppose effective resistance to the progress of the French soldiers. It consisted of but a few regular troops, intermingled with undisciplined peasants, collected by the ringing of the tocsin, and officered by monks, who ran through the lines with crucifixes in their hands, exhorting the men to fight bravely for their country and their faith.

The whole of Romagna was soon in a state of fanatic delirium. Prayers, processions, indulgences, and even miracles were resorted to, to sanctify the cause of the Holy See, and excite the people against the national enemies. Napoleon, to allay this ferment, issued the following proclamation :—"The French army which has entered the territory of the Pope, will protect the religion and people of the country. The French soldier bears in one hand a bayonet, the sure harbinger of victory; and with the other offers to the inhabitants of every town and village in his march, peace, protection, and security."

A foretaste of the quality of their antagonists was given to the French troops at Imola. As they were setting guard, on the evening previously to their crossing the Senio, a flag of truce was sent by the Lord Cardinal to the Commander-in-chief, with a declaration that "If the French army continued to advance, it would be fired upon." This threat excited much laughter among those whom it was intended to frighten : a polite answer was, however, returned, to the effect, that "The French troops did not wish to expose themselves to the thunders of the Cardinal, and were, therefore, about to take up their quarters for the night."

At four on the following morning, the cavalry of General Lannes passed the river, unobserved, at a ford, about a league and a half above the position of the Roman troops ; and was enabled to attack them in the rear, while his infantry crossed the bridge and charged in front. The enemy was routed, leaving their artillery and baggage on the field. Four or five hundred men, including several monks, who died clasping the crucifix, were killed. The Cardinal-General escaped. Faenza

OCCUPATION OF LORETTO.

was carried by assault the same day, but saved from pillage by the presence and moderation of Napoleon. The prisoners taken here and in the action of the Senio were placed together in the garden of a convent, and visited by the General-in-chief. At his approach, they threw themselves on their knees, and earnestly prayed for mercy: a boon which, however, they had not been taught to expect. Bonaparte addressed them in Italian: "I am the friend," said he, "of all the people of Italy. You are free. Return to your families, and tell them that the calumniated French are the friends of religion, of order, and of the oppressed." The joy of the astonished Italians was now as excessive as their apprehension had been extreme. On the dispersion of these prisoners into their different provinces, a better feeling arose among the people towards the French; and even the priests, who were invariably treated with kindness and respect, began to consider that it was not to their interest to persevere in exciting a spirit of hatred against foes so little at enmity with them in essential matters.

Romagna was soon overrun. General Colli, who had formerly led the Sardinian army, and was now Commander-in-chief of that of the Pope, retired from Ancona to Loretto, where, being pursued and surrounded, he laid down his arms without firing a shot. At this place, when it was known that the citadel had surrendered, the townspeople fled for refuge to the church of Madonna, in which an antique wooden image of the Virgin, said to have been of celestial workmanship, was exhibited, in the act of shedding tears for the disasters of the country. This proved a source of considerable amusement to the French, who were not long in discovering the machinery of the miracle: the tears consisted of a string of glass beads, flowing into a concealed shrine, which could only be detected on closely approaching the statue,—an act of irreverence strictly prohibited to the devotees. Among the treasures of the Church was the celebrated *Casa Santa*, or holy house; in which, according to the legend, the Virgin Mary received the visit of the angel Gabriel, and which, on the conquest of Syria by the Saracens, was transported through the air from Nazareth to Dalmatia, and thence across the Adriatic to Loretto. To see these wonders, pilgrims had flocked for ages from all parts of Christendom; and the offerings that had at various times been made in gold and

INTRIGUE OF NAPLES.

jewels, amounted in value to several millions of francs. Previously to the arrival of the French, these riches had been sent to Rome : still the property left, and appropriated by Napoleon to the use of the army, exceeded a million. The Madonna was forwarded to Paris, to grace the Museum ; but was restored at the date of the first Concordat, and may still be seen, enclosed by the *Casa Santa*, in her original sanctuary.

Everywhere it was an object with Napoleon, by generous treatment and courtesy, to disabuse the people of the evil reports which had been disseminated respecting him. Some French recusant priests, of whom several thousands had found an asylum in the Roman States, on the proscription of Christianity by the Convention, came in despair to the French head-quarters to submit to their fate. Contrary to their expectations, they were received with kindness, and dismissed with presents and promises of protection ; and a day or two afterwards, the General issued a proclamation, commanding the army to treat them as friends and countrymen ; and desiring the bishops, ecclesiastical chapters, and conventual bodies, as they valued his friendship, to supply them freely with the means of subsistence and comfort.

An indirect menace was about this time held out by the Court of Naples, in order to deter the French from advancing on the Holy City. Prince Pignatelli, who attended the camp of Bonaparte in the double capacity of Neapolitan minister and spy, obtained an interview with the Commander-in-chief, and, assuming an air of great mystery, shewed him a letter from the Queen of the Two Sicilies, proposing to march an army of thirty thousand men to protect the Pontiff. " It is well ;" said Napoleon, " I will repay your confidence with its like." The portfolio of papers relating to the affairs of Naples was brought in, and a despatch, dated in the preceding November, handed to the Prince, in which the contemplated movement was not only anticipated, but a provision made for marching twenty-five thousand men to the capital of Naples, and driving the king to his island of Sicily, if it should be attempted. Pignatelli was satisfied ; and the project of armed interference was heard of no more.

The panic, which the news of Busca's flight and Colli's surrender had occasioned in Rome, resembled the days of Alaric. The armed peasantry throughout the country concealed their muskets, and fled in

SUBMISSION OF THE POPE.

straggling groups to their native cottages: and even the Cardinals, who should at least have set an example of fortitude, began to provide for their individual safety. Horses were already harnessed to the state carriages of some of them, when the General of the monastic order of Camalduli arrived at the Vatican, and solicited an interview with his Holiness. This ecclesiastic had been charged by Napoleon, whom he had encountered at Cesena, to inform the Pope that no personal violence was intended him; and that he had only to send Plenipotentiaries to Tolentino to secure a permanent peace with the Republic. This assurance, backed by the report of the prisoners who had been set at liberty by the French General, allayed the fears of the Holy Father, and induced him to send an envoy to Bonaparte to arrange preliminaries.

The treaty of Tolentino was signed about the middle of February. The principal conditions were:—The renunciation of alliance by the Holy See with all powers then at war with France; the cession in perpetuity of Avignon, with its demesnes; and of the legations of Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna; and an engagement that all the stipulations of the previous armistice, with respect to contributions in money, horses, and works of art, should be strictly performed.

Pius the Sixth thus remained nominal master of Rome; and the French became the owners of the Apollo di Belvidere, of Raphael's Transfiguration, and of many other ancient masterpieces; besides acquiring a large addition of territory, and much treasure. The Directory, however, were displeased that even a semblance of temporal power was left to an enemy so easily vanquished; but Napoleon, who certainly had little reason, for any support they had rendered him, to consult the inclinations of the Directors, had now begun to act for himself: and this, be it added, in such a way as to inspire infinitely more confidence in the plain dealing and honest intentions of France, than had been given by any acts of the more legally constituted authorities of the Republic.

Leaving General Victor to attend to the execution of the Treaty, and despatching Junot, who had now recovered from his wounds received at Lonato, with a respectful letter to the Pope, addressed *Most Holy Father*—to which an answer was speedily returned, wherein Napoleon was styled *Dear Son*—the Commander-in-chief

NEUTRALITY OF VENICE.

returned to Mantua to prepare for carrying the war against Austria into the Emperor's hereditary States.

So entire had been the subjugation of Italy, that it seemed unnecessary to use much precaution against any latent designs which might be cherished by its rulers. Venice alone was in a condition to render effectual assistance to the enemies of France; and therefore the only power distrusted by Napoleon, or the intentions of which he deigned to challenge. The Doge had for some time been raising and disciplining new levies, and had now at his disposal an army of fifty thousand men, consisting chiefly of brave, hardy, half-civilized Sclavonian mercenaries. Bonaparte demanded the reasons of this extraordinary display; and was answered, that the Senate sought only to maintain a perfect neutrality. Aware of the jealousy with which his conquests had been regarded by this ancient Republic, and of the covert assistance her government had rendered to the Austrians, Napoleon could not but suspect her sincerity; and seized the occasion to make known his determination, in case the pacific policy which had been avowed should be changed in his absence. "Remain neuter," he said to the envoy; "but see that your neutrality be indeed impartial. Things that might have been forgiven while I was in Italy, will be unpardonable when I am in Germany. If any insurrection occur in my rear, to cut off my communications or intercept my detachments, be sure that I will take ample vengeance. The same hour that exhibits the treachery of Venice, shall terminate her independence." And lest this declaration should not be sufficient, he placed ten thousand men in garrison, to act as an army of observation and defence, in the several towns and fortresses on the line of the Adige.

The French took the field in the beginning of March. A reinforcement of twenty thousand men, from the army of the Sambre and Meuse, under the command of General Bernadotte, having been received since the defeat of Alvinzi, Napoleon was now at the head of fifty thousand troops, exclusive of the corps of observation intended to be left in Italy. With this army—the largest which he had yet led—he proceeded to the frontier of the Frioul; where the Austrians, once more recruited to sixty thousand men, were preparing for a sixth campaign. The Archduke Charles, who, by the defeat of

PASSAGE OF THE PIAVE.

Jourdan and Moreau upon the Rhine, had lately acquired the highest renown, was the General appointed to conduct the new operations of the Imperialists: a commander young as Napoleon, of great talent, high spirited, and flushed with the success with which his military career had been hitherto attended.

Bonaparte's plan was to enter Germany by the Carinthian road, and crossing Carniola and Styria, reach the Simmering, and thence march upon Vienna. On the 9th of March, the French head-quarters were advanced from Verona to Bassano, where a spirit-stirring address to the army was issued. "Soldiers!" it said, "the Campaign just ended has given you imperishable claims to the gratitude of your country. You have been victorious in fourteen pitched battles, and seventy actions. You have taken more than a hundred thousand prisoners, five hundred field-pieces, two thousand heavy guns, and four pontoon trains. The contributions levied in the countries which you have conquered, have fed, maintained, and paid the army during the whole campaign. In addition to this, you have sent thirty millions of francs to the Minister of Finance, for the use of the public treasury; and have enriched the national museum with three hundred master-pieces of the arts of ancient and modern Italy. You have conquered the finest countries in Europe. The Transpadane and Cispadane Republics are indebted to you for existence. The French flag waves for the first time on the shores of the Adriatic, opposite to Macedon,—the native country of Alexander,—and within twenty-four hours' sail of her shores. Still higher destinies await you: I know you will not prove unworthy of them.

"Of all the foes that conspired to stifle the Republic in its birth, the Austrian Emperor alone remains before you. To obtain peace, we must seek it in the heart of his hereditary States. You will there find a brave people, whose religion and customs you will respect, and whose property you will hold sacred. Remember, that it is Liberty you carry to the brave Hungarian nation."

The corps of Massena was the first to cross the Piave. The division of Lusignan, which had been stationed near Feltre to dispute the passage of the river, was beaten on the 10th, and its General taken prisoner. Serrurier and Guieux, on the 12th, passed the same stream at Ospedaletto; where, the current being strong, and the water deep,

PASSAGE OF THE TAGLIAMENTO.

a drummer was nearly engulfed. He was rescued, however, by a sutler's wife, who swam after him—an act of courage which was rewarded by Napoleon with the gold chain from his neck. On the morning of the 16th, the Austrian and French armies confronted each other near Valvasona—the former being drawn up on the left, the latter on the right, bank of the Tagliamento. Prince Charles had disposed his artillery and riflemen in such a manner as to render any attempt to pass the river extremely hazardous; and his cavalry was marshalled in two lines prepared to charge any troops that might risk the passage, while they should be yet in the confusion of landing. Napoleon had recourse to a stratagem to disconcert the enemy's plans. After a brief and ineffective cannonade, the French soldiers ceased firing, piled their arms, and formed their bivouacs. The Archduke, knowing that his opponents had marched all night, imagined they were taking up a position, and therefore withdrew from the bank of the river to his camp. Two hours afterwards, however, when all had settled into profound quiet, the French suddenly resumed their arms, and forming into line, hastened to the bank of the river, plunged in, and, ere the astonished Austrians were able to make any disposition to oppose them, were already in order of battle on the left bank. The

OPERATIONS IN THE TYROL.

firing of cannon and musketry instantly began; and the Austrian cavalry made several brilliant charges; but the French soldiers had taken their ground, and were not to be shaken. After two or three hours' fighting, the Prince, having been repulsed at every point of attack, and finding his flank turned by a French division, under Dugua, commenced a retreat, leaving eight pieces of cannon and some prisoners upon the field. The French, rapidly pursuing him, stormed Gradisca, where five thousand prisoners were taken; and, pushing onwards, were in the course of a few days masters of Palma-Nuova, Monte-Falcone, Goritz, Trieste, and Fiume, on the borders of the Adriatic; and Osopo, Ponteba, Tarvis, Villach, Caporetto, and Laybach, among the mountains. On the 31st, Napoleon entered Clagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia; where he published a proclamation to the inhabitants, entreating them to regard the French as liberators and friends; and to lay the blame of the war, with its desolating effects, upon the obstinacy of the Aulic Council and the influence of English gold.

During these events, a succession of minor operations were taking place in the Tyrol, whither Joubert, with a division of about twelve thousand men, had been sent against an Austrian army of much greater strength, under Generals Kerpen and Laudon. The object of this operation was merely to keep the enemy in check upon the Avisio. But, after the battle of the Tagliamento, Joubert received orders to attack the corps opposed to him, and, after driving it beyond the Brenner, to march by the Putherstal into Carinthia, and join the main army, in its advance upon Vienna. These directions were promptly and ably executed. The Avisio was passed on the 20th, and Kerpen defeated with the loss of seven or eight thousand prisoners: while Laudon, separated from the scene of action by the Adige, was compelled to remain totally inactive. The Adige was next crossed, the corps of Laudon routed, and Bolzano taken. On the 28th, the passes of Inspruck were forced, and the Austrians being repulsed beyond the Brenner, Joubert struck into the Putherstal road, and in a few days joined the General-in-chief with twelve thousand men at Clagenfurt.

Thus, in seventeen days, two new armies, with new generals, had been utterly defeated; and four provinces, with the two only ports in the Austrian dominions, occupied by the French; who had also passed

ALARM AT VIENNA.

the Save, the Drave, and the Julian and Noric Alps, and been victors in ten engagements. Vienna itself was but sixty leagues from Bonaparte's head-quarters.

The news of these successive disasters caused the greatest consternation in the Austrian capital. The most valuable effects of its inhabitants, and of the government, together with all public papers and documents of importance, were packed up for transportation into Hungary. The Danube was covered with passage-boats, freighted with the nobility and the wealth of the nation. Among those who were thus about to be expatriated was the Archduchess Maria Louisa, the future Empress of the French—then five years and a half old. To heighten the confusion and insecurity of the period, the people began to manifest a spirit of discontent against the ministers; who, it was complained, though entirely without the means of arresting the progress of the French arms, adopted no measures calculated to lead to a peace.

The situation of Bonaparte was not without difficulty and danger. On entering Germany, he had expected the co-operation on the Rhine of the armies of Moreau and Hoche, which, it had been arranged, should open the campaign at the same time that the army of Italy crossed the Piave; and, having advanced into the heart of Germany, all the troops of the Republic were to unite under the walls of Vienna. On the 31st of March, despatches from Paris announced that Napoleon must rely solely on his own strength and resources; a diversion by the armies of Germany being impracticable. It seemed that the Directory had resolved to sacrifice the best interests of France, together with the bravest of her troops, rather than entrust the command of such a powerful force to a single general; and he the most successful, and suspected to be most ambitious and daring, of the Republican leaders. There was also other news which disturbed the Commander-in-chief. General Laudon, after being beaten by Joubert, had collected the remains of his division, and, descending from the Tyrol into the plains of Italy, spread everywhere a report that the French had been defeated; that the Archduke Charles was advancing, at the head of sixty thousand men, to reconquer Lombardy; and that a rising of the Venetian States would put a period to French domination. The Senate of Venice, fatally for its own existence, eagerly caught at this

OVERTURE FOR PEACE.

grateful intelligence, and assisted to organize a secret movement; which before long displayed itself in blood and massacre. The whole horizon was clouded; and Napoleon thought that his best course would be, if possible, to conclude a peace with the Emperor. Accordingly, two hours after receiving the despatches of the Directory, he wrote in the following terms to Prince Charles:—

“General-in-chief, it belongs to a brave soldier, while he makes war, to wish for peace. The present contest has lasted six years. Have we not killed men enough, and inflicted sufficient evil on the human race? Humanity has great claims upon us. Europe has laid down the arms she assumed against the French Republic. Your nation alone perseveres; yet blood is to flow more copiously than ever. Fatal omens attend the opening of this campaign. But, whatever may be its issue, some thousands of men must fall on each side: and, after all, we must come to an understanding, since all things, not excepting vindictive feelings, must have an end. . . . You, General, whose birth places you so near the throne, and above the petty passions which too often actuate ministers and governments,—are you disposed to merit the title of a benefactor to mankind, and the saviour of Germany? Do not imagine, Sir, that I mean to deny the possibility of saving Germany by force of arms; but even supposing the chances of war should become favourable to you, the country would nevertheless be ravaged. For my part, if the overture I make you be the means of saving the life of a single man, I should feel prouder of the civic crown to which that would entitle me, than of all the melancholy glory the most distinguished military success can confer.”

To this the Archduke, on the 2nd of April, replied as follows:—
“Unquestionably, General, in making war, obediently to the call of honour and duty, I desire as much as you the attainment of peace, for the sake of the people and of humanity. Nevertheless, it does not belong to me, in the functions with which I am entrusted, to enquire into or terminate the quarrel of the belligerent nations: nor am I furnished with powers to treat on the part of the Emperor. You will not, therefore, consider it extraordinary that I do not enter into any negotiation with you; and that I wait for superior orders on this important subject, which is not within my province. But whatever may be the future chances of war, or whatever hopes of peace may

TREATY OF LOEBEN.

exist, I beg you to rest assured of my distinguished consideration and esteem."

To second this overture for negociation, Napoleon determined to push forward towards Vienna. At Friesach, the rearguard of the enemy was beaten, and pursued thence to Neumarck. Here the Prince himself had taken a position to defend the passes; but, after losing three thousand men, and exposing himself to great personal danger, he relinquished the post and continued his retreat. In order to gain time, however, to effect a junction with General Kerpen, who was advancing with the remnant of his division and some recruits, by the cross roads from the Tyrol, the Archduke sent a flag of truce to request a suspension of arms for twenty-four hours. Guessing his intention, Napoleon replied that they might fight and negotiate at the same time. After sustaining a succession of disasters at Unzmarkt, Judenburgh, and Gratz, the Austrians no longer maintained a war of posts; but, by forced marches precipitated their retreat, resolving to collect the remaining strength of the Empire, and fight the last battle for national independence before the gates of Vienna.

On the 7th, the French head-quarters were at Leoben, where Generals Bellegarde and Merfeld presented themselves with a note from the Emperor, desiring an armistice, till preliminaries might be arranged for a definitive peace. This was granted the same evening; and a series of subsequent negociations ended in the provisional treaty of Leoben, which was signed on the 18th of April, 1797. In this treaty the Austrian Commissioners had set down as the first article, that the Emperor recognised the French Republic. "Strike that out," said Napoleon; "the Republic is like the sun, which shines by its own light: none but the blind can fail to see it. We are our own masters, and will establish what government we please, without the interference of any person whomsoever."

The Venetian outbreak, to which previous allusion has been made, commenced on Easter Sunday, the 16th of April. At Verona the priests, forgetting their mission of universal peace and charity, openly preached to the people, that it was permitted, and even meritorious, to slay the Jacobins. The tocsin was rung, and the rallying cry of the populace was, "Death to the French!" On Monday, four hundred of the sick were murdered in the hospitals. At

VENETIAN TUMULTS.

Vicenza and Padua the French were assassinated in the public streets. At Venice, under the very batteries of the Lido, the crew of a French vessel was murdered, in a conjoint attack of Venetians and Austrians. None of the sailors were permitted to save themselves. A boatswain, wounded and bleeding, swam towards the shore, and clung to a beam projecting from the harbour-castle. The commandant of the fort chopped off the unfortunate man's hand with an axe. The Lion of St. Mark arose for a moment, triumphant and terrible; but it was the convulsive energy of the death-struggle. "I know of but one course to be taken," wrote Bonaparte to the Directory, on learning these facts from De Bourrienne, who joined him at Leoben on the 19th; "it is to destroy this ferocious and sanguinary oligarchy — to erase the Venetian name from the face of the earth." Then, addressing his secretary, he added, "Their Republic has been!"

Junot was forthwith sent with a letter from Napoleon, which he was directed to read aloud to the assembled Senate. This document was couched in the following indignant terms:—"The number of your victims is already several hundreds. In vain do you affect to disavow tumults instigated by yourselves. Can you imagine that, after carrying the victorious French arms into the heart of Germany, I shall want

WAR WITH VENICE.

strength to force you to respect the first nation in the world? The blood of my brethren in arms shall be avenged. There is not a single French battalion, which, when charged with that generous mission, will not feel thrice the courage and strength necessary for your punishment.

“If you do not instantly disperse the mobs and suppress the tumults within your territories,—if you do not at once arrest and deliver into my hands the authors of the murders which have been committed,—war is declared. I give you twenty-four hours for compliance with these demands. Should you render war necessary, do not imagine that, like the brigands you have armed, the French soldier will ravage the fields of the innocent and unfortunate people of the Terra-firma. No; they will be protected, and their owners shall bless the crimes that have obliged the French army to release them from your tyrannical sway.”

News of the true state of affairs had preceded the French envoy. It was already known in Venice, that General Victor was investing Verona; that Augereau, having returned from Paris, was marching towards the Lagune with a strong division; and that the Archduke Charles, having shared the fate of Beaulieu, of Wurmser, and of Alvinzi, Austria had been compelled to sue for peace. When Junot presented himself, the Senators were therefore in despair. They humbled themselves to the dust before him, and laid hold of every pretext to excuse their treachery. A deputation was despatched to Napoleon to offer any reparation he might require. Large sums of money were tendered to all who were thought to possess influence with him. A purse of seven millions of francs was offered to himself. All these offers, however, were rejected with scorn and contempt. “If you could proffer me the treasures of Peru,” he exclaimed; “if you could cover your whole territory with gold, the atonement would be insufficient for the French blood that has been treacherously shed.” The French minister was recalled from Venice, a declaration of war followed; and directions were given to the soldiers to cast down and destroy the winged lion of St. Mark—the ancient emblem of Venetian sovereignty—in every town and village where it should be found displayed.

These tidings fell like a death summons upon the dismayed

FALL OF VENICE.

Patricians. Stupified by the consciousness of their impending doom, they were incapable of making a rational effort to avert it. The confusion of fear and hopelessness pervaded every breast, and was exhibited in every countenance. The orders given at one moment, to the naval and military commanders, were countermanded the next. It was suggested that agents should be sent to Paris to endeavour to tamper with the ministry by means of gold. This was done, and might have served its purpose, but for the vigilance of Napoleon, who intercepted the secret correspondence between the Directory and the Great Council, and thus obtained proofs of peculation and bribery, which enabled him to silence all who were likely to question his proceedings. As a final resource, the Senate turned to supplicate the intercession of Austria; but in vain. The Emperor already contemplated sharing the spoils of the Conqueror. Meetings of councils and committees were held hourly. In one of these, over which the aged Doge Manini presided, two strangers were permitted to intrude into those sacred and mysterious chambers, where, a month before, an official would have been liable to severe punishment for too loud a foot-fall, and the crime of having overheard the deliberations of the Council would have incurred inevitable death. Now, the advice of these intruders was sought with eagerness, and, though of the most obnoxious kind, was given with impunity and acted upon from despair. It was—to dissolve the government, throw open the state prisons, disband the Slavonian troops, and plant the Tree of Liberty in the Place of St. Mark.

The fleet was forthwith dismantled, and the soldiers dismissed. And on the 16th of May, while the French were entering the city, the Doge resigned his robes of state, the terrible Council of Three relinquished its functions, and the Senate declared its sittings terminated. Thus Venice, after thirteen hundred years of independence, disappeared from among the nations, without a blow, and in gloomy silence. A popular constitution was immediately declared, and a provisional government named, at the head of which was placed Dandolo; whom Napoleon declared to be one of the only two *men* he had been able to meet with among the eighteen millions which constituted the population of Italy. The tri-coloured flag was hoisted in St. Mark's Place, amid shouts of "Viva la Liberta!" from a large

FALL OF VENICE.

number of the inhabitants, who rejoiced in the downfall of the despotic oligarchy which had so long tyrannized over them.

The Lion of St. Mark, and the Corinthian horses from the gates of the Doge's palace, together with twenty of the best pictures, and five hundred valuable manuscripts, were seized and sent to Paris. Nine sixty-four gun ships, twelve frigates, and several smaller vessels, were manned and sent to Toulon; and a contribution was levied of three millions of francs in gold, and the same amount in naval and military stores.

Immediately after signing the treaty of Leoben, Napoleon, leaving the negotiations to be conducted by General Clarke, who had been authorized for that purpose by the Directory, returned to Italy, to settle the affairs of Venice, attend to the condition of the several garrisons, and arrange some differences that had arisen in his newly-founded Republics. He set out on the 20th of April, and being

NAPOLÉON'S RETURN TO ITALY.

detained on a small island, formed by the sudden rising of the Tagliamento, received a courier with despatches from the Directory. Here

he learned that the armies on the German frontier had crossed the Rhine on the very day of signing the preliminaries at Leoben. His agitation upon receiving this intelligence was excessive. He had signed the treaty on the representation of the Government, that the co-operation of these armies was not to be expected. In the first moments of chagrin, he expressed a determination to recross the Tagliamento, and break the truce with Austria on any pretext; but Berthier and the other Generals in his suite successfully combated this resolution. "How different," he exclaimed, "would have been the preliminaries—if, indeed, they had ever existed—had this intelligence reached me fifteen days earlier." And his vexation and regret were greatly heightened when, a few days afterwards, he received a communication from Moreau, announcing the successful opening of the campaign, and the taking of four thousand prisoners; and promising to lose no time in marching to the support of the Army of Italy. Hoche was similarly

JEALOUSY OF THE DIRECTORY.

fortunate. But the operations and brilliant hopes of each were now ended by the untimely treaty. Had a proper understanding and concert been established among the several generals, nothing could have prevented the capture of Vienna, and the dictation by France of the terms of peace with the Emperor. The wavering and inconsistent conduct of the Directors has been generally attributed to the fear with which they regarded Napoleon, and the desire thence originating to thwart him in every effort that might contribute to increase his greatness or glory. This personal jealousy is, perhaps, inseparable from Republican institutions: the chiefs of which, being unable to repose on hereditary or external dignity, are disposed to look with prejudice on talents and achievements which eclipse their own, and to which they are consequently required by the general voice to yield precedence.

Not content with silently frustrating the projects of Napoleon, the Directory encouraged the envious and malignant to blacken his character, throw suspicion upon his intentions, and depreciate the services of himself and the army under his command. To have uttered an oration, or written a pamphlet, traducing General Bonaparte, was a ready passport to the favour of the government. The conduct of the General and his soldiers towards the Pope and the exiled priests was severely commented on, and made the subject of political caricature. Spies were placed upon his actions, and domestic inquisitors sent to gather injurious reports from the conversation of his wife. Even the soundness of his military system was called in question, by persons who considered themselves competent to lecture him on the principles of warfare. Among other things, he was charged with having excited the tumults which led to the occupation of Venice. This last accusation was brought forward in a tangible shape. A discussion having arisen in the Council of Ancients concerning the violation of the rights of nations, it afforded Dumolard, a leader of the Clichy or royalist club, which sought the restoration of the Bourbons as a cure for the evils and dissensions which afflicted France, an opportunity to aim a blow at the popularity of Napoleon. A motion was made for enquiry into the origin of the Venetian rising, and the violence which attended its suppression. On receiving notice of this, Napoleon thus wrote to the Directory:—

LETTER TO THE DIRECTORY.

"After having concluded five treaties of peace, and given the final blow to the coalition against France, I had a right to expect, if not civic triumphs, at least to live in tranquillity, and to be protected by the chief magistrates of the Republic. Instead of this, I find myself injured, insulted, traduced by every shameful means which political craft lends to persecution. After having deserved well of my country, had I reason to expect the opprobrium with which it is now sought to cover me? The calumnies are as absurd as they are atrocious.

"We have been assassinated by traitors; more than four hundred individuals have perished—murdered before the eyes of the governor

of a citadel—pierced by innumerable blows, with such daggers as the one I now send for your inspection: and yet it has been derisively asked in the societies of Paris, ‘Was this blood, then, so pure?’ Had men infamous, or dead to all sentiments of patriotism and national glory, spoken thus, I might have remained indifferent to their clamour: but when such language is permitted, without rebuke, by the first ministers of the State, my silence would be criminal.

“I repeat, Citizen Directors, the request before presented to you for my dismissal. I desire a life of peace, if indeed the daggers of Clichy will permit me to live.”

But though the Directors desired nothing so earnestly as to strip Napoleon of his power and influence, they feared to exasperate him by open hostility. Their whole conduct, therefore, resolved itself into intrigue; so pitiful and so apparent as to excite the contempt of all classes. They were lavish in praise of the young General, who had become the theme of all tongues; but their eulogy, often of such a nature as might have borne a different name, was invariably barren. The friends of Napoleon derived from the Government no power or support that could be safely withheld.

Nor was this duplicity towards their greatest General the only error of which the Directors were guilty. They procured the passing of several unpopular laws: one of which was to alter the calendar, by dividing the year into twelve equal months of thirty days, or three *décades* each—the *décade*, or tenth day, being appointed, instead of Sunday, the day of rest. The absurdity of this measure was heightened by the establishment of penalties, for the infraction of the *décade* and for resting on Sunday; and the employment of *gens d’armes* and other officers to enforce obedience to the law. The diversity of weights and measures in the several provinces and cities had long been felt as a grievance, extremely detrimental to trade. This was now altered upon a new principle of geometrical proportion, totally at variance with all previously existing ideas, and with all the tables of dimensions, nominal quantities, and machines in use. The question was one of practical utility, and might have been settled to the general satisfaction, by legalizing the standard of Paris, which had been used in all government transactions, and by scientific men, for centuries. The new system had the effect of additionally

STATE OF FRANCE.

confusing mercantile operations, and rendering the most trivial dealings complicated and tedious. A soldier's ration, according to the old nomenclature, was twenty-four ounces; by the new, it became seven hundred and thirty-four grammes, and two hundred and fifty-nine thousandths.

In political opinions, the Executive body was divided against itself. Barras, who had little talent, and who affected a degree of state and dignity which gave umbrage to that class of Republicans which confounded virtue with outward simplicity, was attached to the existing Constitution; as were also La Reveillere Lepaux and Rewbel: but Lepaux had invented a new religion, called Theophilanthropy, and wasted the greater portion of his time in endeavouring to gain proselytes and establish his sect. Carnot and Barthelemy, who possessed infinitely greater talents than the others, and were above the average of men, were members of the Society of Clichy, and favourably affected towards the exiled house of Bourbon. The people themselves began generally to be Royalists. Every form of government had been tried, and each had inflicted a series of increased evils on the country, and opened the portals of power to more incompetent intriguers. Corruption had crept into every branch of the administration. Justice itself was venal.

The natural consequences of this weakness and want of principle were soon developed. Conspiracies were set on foot, both by Royalists and Democrats, for the overthrow of the Government: one party seeking to restore monarchy, the other to bring back the so-called liberty and equality of the *Reign of Terror*. Royalist emigrants and banished partizans of Robespierre were returning in great numbers. The press openly assailed all who were suspected of supporting the established Constitution, and directed its most pointed shafts against the army. Even Pichegru, honoured throughout Europe as the conqueror of Holland, was deeply implicated in the base and factious proceedings of the period. He had not scrupled, while at the head of the Army of the Rhine, to enter into a treasonable correspondence with the Prince of Condé, and to sacrifice his troops to the sword of the enemy for gold, with a view to the downfall of the government by which he had been entrusted with his command. Some vague doubts of his fidelity, and of the conduct of his military operations, had been

TREACHERY OF PICHEGRU.

entertained long before, and had led to his being superseded in his command by Hoche, a young man full of talent, bravery, and ambition, but a firm Republican. On returning to France, Pichegru had been elected member of the Council of Five Hundred, and subsequently called to the chair of that assembly. It was not till the fall of Venice that satisfactory evidence of his crimes, and of an extensive conspiracy in favour of the Bourbons, of which he was the head, was obtained. The Count D'Entraigues, formerly a Jacobin, but subsequently an emigrant, who had resided for two years at Venice, nominally as envoy of Russia, but in reality as agent for the exiled court of France, was arrested by Bonaparte after the massacre at Verona. Among this person's papers the correspondence of Pichegru was discovered; and immediately forwarded to the Directory. Everything in short announced that a crisis was at hand.

Napoleon had been an earnest observer of the signs of the times: and it was the general impression that the termination of the public disorder depended upon him. It more than once occurred to him to step boldly forward, declare himself, and, overpowering each of the factions, to assume the office of "Regulator" of the Republic. But although aware of the strength he derived from the support of the army, and the high esteem in which he was held by the mass of the people, he was still in doubt whether the public were prepared to sanction so daring a movement. He thought it necessary, before he should assert individual supremacy, to form a party in the State, to which, in an emergency, he might look for support. In the present conjuncture, therefore, it appeared most favourable to his ulterior views to preserve the existence of the feeblest portion of the Directory. Accordingly, every precaution was taken to prepare the troops for important events. On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille, he proposed to the army a new oath. "Let us swear," he said, "by the ashes of those who have fought and died for freedom—on the standards which we have so often followed to victory—let us swear implacable war to the enemies of the Republic, and of the Constitution of the year Three." Proclamations and addresses were also, from time to time, distributed through the ranks. "Soldiers," ran one of these, "I know that your hearts are full of grief at the calamities of our country: but, if it were possible for

foreign armies to triumph, we should fly from the summit of the Alps with the rapidity of the eagle, once more to defend that cause which has already cost us so much blood."

The soldiers, most of whom were ardent Republicans, were in ecstasies; and declared their readiness to march at once upon Paris. The better to express their sentiments they prepared an address. "Tremble, Royalists!" it said: "from the Adige to the Seine is but one step. Tremble! your iniquities are recorded, and you will find their reward at the end of the bayonet!" Augereau was deputed to bear these documents to Paris, where their publication produced a powerful sensation. The Councils remonstrated against the interference of the army; but in vain. Hoche, who from principle disapproved the conduct of the Royalists, had already sent a portion of his troops across the frontier. These had marched towards the capital, and stationed themselves at Versailles, Meudon, and Vincennes; whence, during the night of the 3rd of September (17th Fructidor), they were led into Paris by Augereau. They speedily surrounded the Hotel-de-Ville and the Tuileries, and were dispersed along the quays, on the bridges, and in the Champ-Élysées. At four the next morning, the alarm-gun was fired; Augereau presented himself at the gate of the Pont-Tournant. The guard of the legislative body was under arms; but Augereau had no sooner called to them, "Are you Republicans?" than, lowering their arms, they replied, "Long live Augereau!—Long live the Directory!" Pichegru, president of the Council of Five Hundred, and Willot, president of the Council of Ancients, with about a hundred and fifty persons of less note, were immediately arrested; and by six o'clock the enterprise was concluded, and the Directory triumphant. Carnot, who, on the previous evening, had received notice of the intended movement, escaped to Geneva. Barthelemy, Pichegru, and the other Royalist leaders were banished. The Directors, upon this occasion, were loud in proclaiming that the Republic owed its existence to the prompt support of General Bonaparte. The misgiving, however, that he had taken his part only for the moment, and that he had another scene to enact at a more convenient season, gained ground, with the better informed and more reflective, daily; and this was strengthened by the fact, that he was known to have spoken with contempt of the Directors he

COURT OF MONTEBELLO.

had saved, while Carnot, the only one he esteemed, was driven into exile.

As a justification of these extraordinary proceedings, the Government published the intercepted correspondence of Pichegru.

While these events were passing in Paris, the negotiations for peace with Austria proceeded but slowly. Napoleon fixed his residence at Montebello, a beautiful castellated palace a few leagues from Milan, delightfully situated on the slope of a hill, which commands an extensive prospect of the fertile plains of Lombardy. Here he was joined by Josephine, who, though she had been married more than two years, was still a bride. She had come to Italy under the guardianship of Junot, when he returned from presenting to the Directory the flags taken from Beaulieu; and had hitherto resided chiefly at Genoa and Lucca; at both of which places she had been received and entertained with a magnificent courtesy seldom rendered to any but the families of hereditary princes. At Montebello, the ladies of Milan and of the neighbourhood, as well those of the highest rank as those most celebrated for wealth, beauty, and accomplishments, came daily to pay homage to the graceful and fascinating wife of the General-in-chief. The presence of the ministers and envoys of Austria, of Rome, Naples, Sardinia, the Swiss Cantons, and several of the inferior princes of Germany; the throng of Generals, the chief authorities of Principalities, Republics, and Cities; the daily arrival and despatch of Couriers, to and from the capitals of almost all the states of Europe; the importance of the business in progress; the ever recurring balls, hunting parties, fêtes, and entertainments; furnished all the realities of a splendid court, and induced the Italians to call it the *Court of Montebello*. It was in truth a brilliant scene. Frequent excursions were made to the Lakes of Como and Maggiore, and to the Borromean Isles; the villas and castles of the princes and nobility being opened with the most cordial welcome for the temporary residence of such distinguished guests. Every town and village was eager to testify its homage and gratitude to him, who was looked upon and hailed by all, as the *Liberator of Italy*.

This, says Sir Walter Scott, "was probably the happiest time of his life. Honour beyond that of a crowned head was his own; and had the full relish of novelty to a mind which, two or three years before,

GENOA.

was pining in obscurity. Power was his, and he had not experienced its cares and risks. High hopes were formed of him by all around; and he had not yet disappointed them. He was in the flower of youth, and married to the woman of his heart. Above all, he had the glow of Hope, which was marshalling him to even more exalted dominion; and he had not yet become aware that possession brings satiety, and that all earthly desires and wishes terminate, when fully attained, in vanity and vexation of spirit."

But amid all this romantic gaiety and splendour, we must not forget that this was the period at which Napoleon was subjected to the libellous attacks of the Clichyens, and to the injurious opposition of the Directors, or, as they began to be called, *The Five Majesties of the Luxembourg*; which, it has been already shewn, afforded him such serious annoyance. His attention was also occupied by important business: the organization of the Cisalpine Republic, the settlement of a revolutionary outbreak at Genoa, and the treaty with Austria.

Genoa had hitherto maintained the constitution given to it in the sixteenth century by Andrea Doria. The proclamation of independence by the Cispadane and Transpadane Republics, the revolutionizing of Venice, and the enthusiasm kindled by the victories of the French, had given such a preponderance to the popular party, that a change in the government became unavoidable. An insurrection, fomented by the Grand Inquisitors, and other officers of the State, against the middle class of citizens, who were the principal assertors of modern republicanism, broke out on the 22nd of May; when the colliers and porters assaulted all who were supposed to be of the French party, or who had exhibited the revolutionary cockade. The slaughter of several French families and the imprisonment of many others ensued. Napoleon, on being informed of these outrages, immediately despatched his aide-de-camp, Lavalette, to demand reparation. The aristocracy now became alarmed; and, on the 6th of June, a Convention was signed by the Doge and some of the most influential of the senators, by which the power of the oligarchy was abolished, and a democratical constitution was established in Genoa. The people, intoxicated with this news, committed many excesses, destroyed the *golden book* of the State, and broke in pieces the statue of Doria. These acts were exceedingly displeasing to Napoleon; who

CISALPINE REPUBLIC.

venerated the name of Doria as that of a great man, the real benefactor of his country. He accordingly wrote to the provisional government to express his disapprobation, and to direct the statue to be forthwith restored. In framing the new Constitution, Napoleon recommended that the priests and nobles, as portions of the community, should be admitted to a share of the government; alleging that their exclusion would be precisely the same injustice towards them, as had been made the subject of such loud complaint against them. The State received the name of the Ligurian Republic. The only stipulation on behalf of the French was, that those who had suffered in the recent insurrection should be indemnified: no contribution, either in money or works of art, was exacted.

The Transpadane and Cispadane Republics, at the suggestion of Napoleon, who wished to consolidate Italy into one State, merged quietly into the Cisalpine; to which was annexed the district of the Valteline, comprising the valleys of the Valteline, properly so called, the Bormio and the Chiavenna: the sovereignty of which, in 1512, had been arbitrarily conferred on the Grison Leagues by Sforza, Duke of Milan: notwithstanding that, by geographical position, by language, prejudice, and religion—for they were Catholic, and their Swiss masters Protestant—they belonged to Italy. A general federation of the National Guards and the authorities of the Cisalpine Republic took place, on the 14th of July, at Milan; when an oath of fraternity was taken by all present to use their utmost efforts to revive the spirit of Italy, and make her once more a great and free nation. The keys of Milan, and of the several fortresses of the Republic, were delivered by Napoleon to the Cisalpine officers; and the French army went into cantonments in the territory of Venice. The manners of the northern Italians henceforth underwent a striking change. The effeminacy which had prevailed among the youth, and constituted the reproach of the whole people, at once gave place to more manly sentiments, and to aspirations for honourable renown. The songs of Italy again breathed of freedom, of the love of country, and of national heroism; and the women repulsed with disdain those suitors who had no better boast to bring them than the power to amuse.

The settlement with Austria would in all probability have been brought to a close shortly after the fall of Venice, but for the defection

NEGOCIATIONS.

of Pichegru and the confusion which it was expected would arise from the intrigues of the Royalists at Paris. The Emperor hoped to be able to turn these to advantage in his negotiations. He even endeavoured, by the offer of a magnificent bribe, to excite the cupidity of Napoleon. An autograph letter was shewn to the General, containing the promise of an independent German principality for himself and his heirs, on the conclusion of peace; in order, as it was stated, to place him beyond the reach of Republican ingratitude. Bonaparte smiled when he had read the communication, and said to the Marquis de Gallo, who brought it, "Convey my thanks to the Emperor; but tell him, if greatness is to be mine, it shall come from France." As the close of summer drew nigh, Napoleon's patience became exhausted, and the premature appearance of winter quickened his resolution. "It is decided," he said to Bourrienne, as he looked upon the mountain-tops covered with snow, on the morning of the 13th of October: "Peace must be made. Venice shall pay the expenses of the war; and the Rhine must be our boundary. The Directory and lawyers may prate as they please."

To bring matters to an immediate issue, he desired a conference with the Austrian plenipotentiaries, which he declared should be the last. He demanded a decisive answer to his proposals. Count Cobentzel, the Emperor's chief envoy, declared them to be rejected. Napoleon rose from his seat in anger, and taking from the mantelpiece a beautiful porcelain vase, which Cobentzel prized as the gift of the Empress Catherine, he energetically exclaimed, "You wish for war then? It is well: you shall have it. But mark me—in less than three months I will shatter your Empire, as I now shatter this potsherd." And, dashing the vase on the floor, where it was instantly broken into a thousand pieces, he hastened from the apartment. The Count was stupefied with chagrin and terror; but the Marquis de Gallo, in a few minutes, followed the General-in-chief, and endeavoured, partly by force and partly by entreaty, to detain him. Napoleon could hardly refrain from laughing at the dejection of the Marquis, who stood with his hat in his hand, bowing with all humility, while the carriage drove off. It being ascertained, directly afterwards, that an officer had been despatched to the Archduke Charles, informing him that the negotiations were broken off, and

TREATY OF CAMPO FORMIO.

that hostilities would recommence in twenty-four hours, Cobentzel became seriously alarmed; and instantly sent De Gallo to say that the *ultimatum* of France was accepted. On the following day, the 17th of October, 1797, the treaty was signed, being dated from Campo Formio; a village between Passeriano and Udine, which had been neutralized for the purpose by the secretaries of legation; though, from the place containing no house suitable for the accommodation of the plenipotentiaries, it was not thought necessary to remove thither.

The peace of Campo Formio gave to France the possession of Belgium, and guaranteed the boundary of the Rhine. Venice, notwithstanding the previous declaration of a free constitution, and the appointment of a provisional government, was to be parted between the contracting powers: France to have Dalmatia and the Ionian islands; and Austria to assume the sovereignty of Venice and her Italian provinces, as a compensation for the loss of Lombardy, the independence of which was recognised in that of the Cisalpine Republic. By a special article, which was obstinately insisted on by the French plenipotentiary, MM. La Fayette, Latour-Maubourg, and Bureau de Pusy, patriots of the second, or republican emigration,

PARTITION OF VENICE.

who had been confined for four years in the miserable dungeons of Olmütz, obtained their liberation. This treaty strikingly exhibited the little real regard which was entertained by either of the parties concerned in it, for those rights of nations which they had so long and so loudly asserted by words and warfare; and formed a strange commentary upon the noble sentiment to which Napoleon had given utterance when he annexed the Valteline to the Cisalpine State. "It is contrary," he then said, "to the rights of man, for one people to be subject to another." The excuse with which he silenced the remonstrances of other persons, and perhaps of his own conscience, on the subject, was, that the Venetians were effeminate, corrupt, treacherous, and hypocritical, and therefore unfit for freedom. "If Venice has the spirit to appreciate liberty," he wrote to one, who interested himself in behalf of the Republic, "and the courage to assert it, the time is not unfavourable—let her stand up and vindicate her rights."

The intimacy between Bonaparte and Desaix had its commencement during these protracted negotiations. The latter, taking advantage of

the armistice of Leoben, came from the camp of Moreau to visit the head-quarters of the Army of Italy. Napoleon received him with kindness, and thought to surprise him with the intelligence of Pichegru's treason. "We knew this on the Rhine," said Desaix, "more than three months ago. By the capture of a wagon belonging to General Klinglin, we obtained possession of the whole of Pichegru's correspondence with the enemies of the Republic."—"And did Moreau give no intimation of this to the Directory?"—"None."—"Then," emphatically exclaimed Napoleon, "he is an accomplice. When the safety of one's country is at stake, silence is guilt."

After the events of the 18th Fructidor, and the apprehension of Pichegru, Moreau wrote to the Directory, communicating what he knew of the conspiracy; and at the same time he, in the harshest terms, denounced the traitors in a proclamation to the army. This, however, was but an additional instance of Moreau's bad conduct;—though seasonable for the Government, as confirming the information which had been previously forwarded by Bonaparte, and which on its publication had been looked upon by many, who could not conceive Pichegru capable of such baseness, as a mere fabrication. "By not speaking earlier," said Napoleon, "he betrayed his country: by speaking when he did, he struck a blow at one already fallen." In connexion with the occurrences of the 18th Fructidor, the correspondence of Napoleon with Talleyrand began—the latter being at that time a fierce Republican, and recommending "speedy and certain death, as the punishment of all who should endeavour to restore Royalty, the Constitution of 1793, or of Orleans."

About the same time Napoleon published an address to the sailors of the squadron of Admiral Brueys, which seems to have foreshadowed the expedition to Egypt. "Sailors," it said, "without you we should be unable to make known the French name beyond a small corner of Europe. With you, we will traverse the seas, and bear the standard of the Republic into countries the most remote."

Concerning Napoleon's personal appearance at this period, an interesting letter has been preserved by De Bourrienne, from one who saw him for the first time, just previously to the arrangement of the peace. "I beheld," says this writer, "with deep interest and extreme attention, the extraordinary man who has performed so many great

NAPOLÉON'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

deeds, and whose career it seems certain is not yet closed. His portraits are like him. He is small in stature, thin, and pale, having the appearance of one overwrought; but not, as reported, in ill-health. As a listener, there is in his demeanour more of abstraction than interest; as if engrossed too fully with his own thoughts to be capable of bestowing much attention upon what is said to him. His countenance is remarkably intellectual, with an expression of habitual meditation, which, however, reveals nothing of what is passing within. In that thoughtful head and soaring mind, depend on it, there are bold conceptions, which will hereafter influence the destinies of Europe." This letter was published in the Paris journals, in December, 1797. But for this circumstance, its correctness of appreciation might have led us to assign it a much later date. Napoleon was now but twenty-eight years of age.

CHAPTER VI.

NAPOLÉON QUILS ITALY—JOURNEY TO RASTADT—PARIS—EMBARKATION FOR EGYPT. 1797—1798.

LEAVING the Austrian frontier, where the recent negotiations had been concluded, Napoleon returned to Italy, preparatory to proceeding to Rastadt; where, according to the treaty of Campo Formio, the important fortress of Mentz, included within the territory acquired by France in the settlement of her new boundary, was to be given up at a general congress of the German princes.

Wherever he appeared he was received with enthusiasm, and congratulated as the Liberator of Italy. The magical word *Liberty*, of which he had revived the use among the people, after it had become obsolete for centuries, was echoed from the Alps to the Appenines, and associated in every mind with the name of Bonaparte. At Mantua, he was lodged in the palace of the ancient dukes; and, in

DEATH OF HOCHÉ.

return for the courtesy of the inhabitants, traced the plan and laid the foundation of an useful canal on the Mincio. Here also he superintended the erection of a tomb to the memory of the poet Virgil; and celebrated a military funeral in honour of Hoche, who had just died at Mentz—so suddenly as to have caused a suspicion that he had been poisoned by some of the Royalist conspirators, to whose late defeat he had been instrumental. The Royalists and Jacobins, indeed, sought to attach the same imputation to Bonaparte; who, they asserted, was jealous of the rising fame and superior talents of the young Republican. The suspicion on each side was most likely false: but the death of this General, and the disgrace of Moreau for concealing the treason of Pichegru, having left the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and that of the Rhine, without a chief, the Directory conferred the command of both upon Augereau, whom they thus vainly hoped to establish as a formidable rival to the Conqueror of Italy.

JOURNEY TO RASTADT.

On arriving at Milan, Napoleon despatched Joubert to Paris with a magnificent flag, inscribed on one side with the words "A grateful Country to the Army of Italy:" on the other, with a simple record of the gallant achievements of the troops in the long campaign just ended. It ran as follows:—"One hundred and fifty thousand prisoners, one hundred and seventy standards, five hundred and fifty cannons, six hundred field pieces, five bridge equipages; nine sixty-four gun ships, twelve thirty-two gun frigates, twelve corvettes, and eighteen galleys. Armistices with Sardinia, Naples, the Pope, and the Duke of Parma. Convention at Montebello with the Ligurian Republic. Treaty of Campo Formio. Liberty conferred on Bologna and fifteen other Italian States; and also on Corcyra, Ithaca, and the Egean isles. Sent to Paris the master-pieces of Michael Angelo, Guercino, Titian, Paul Veronese, Correggio, Albano, the Carracci, Raphael, and Leonardo da Vinci." This flag was placed in the public hall of the Directory: a fitting memorial of national heroism.

The presence of Napoleon being now imperatively required at the Congress, he took leave of the assembled authorities of the Cisalpine Republic in a manly though flattering address; and issued the following order of the day to the troops which had covered him and themselves with so much glory:—"Soldiers! to-morrow I set out for Germany. Separated from the army, I shall sigh for the moment of rejoining it; to undertake new enterprises and gain fresh victories. Meanwhile, whatever post may be assigned to the Army of Italy, it will always be found the support of freedom, and of French honour and renown. Soldiers! when you talk of the princes you have conquered, of the nations you have liberated, of the battles you have fought, in two campaigns, say,—'In the next two we shall do still more.'"

During his journey to Rastadt, through Switzerland, Napoleon was everywhere greeted with acclamations of joy. At Geneva, a line of carriages, brilliantly lighted, was drawn up on each side of the street, filled with ladies, who made the air ring with reiterated cries of "Long live Bonaparte! Long live the Pacificator!" On entering the Pays du Vaud, three parties of handsome young females—one clothed in white, another in red, and the third in blue—came, at the head of the principal inhabitants, to meet and welcome him. These maidens

JOURNEY TO PARIS.

presented him with a crown inscribed with the famous sentence used by him when he proclaimed the liberty of the Valteline, and which could not fail to endear him to every Switzer:—"One nation cannot be subject to another." His carriage having broken down at Meudon, he proceeded on foot, escorted by native soldiers, as far as Morat, where he passed over the field on which the army of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, had been destroyed by the valour of the Swiss. "The French," observed Lannes, who accompanied him, after they had viewed the ground, and ascertained the particulars of the battle, "understand better, now a-days, how to fight."—"In 1456," sharply interrupted Napoleon, "the Burgundians were not Frenchmen."

Napoleon did not remain at the Congress after the fortress of Mentz was surrendered to France. The negotiations at Rastadt, which involved innumerable petty disputes between the several princes of the Germanic Confederation, were extremely distasteful to him. "He was not the man," says his secretary, "to spin out years in manufacturing German treaties." At the moment of his departure for Paris, De Bourrienne, who had long been on the list of proscribed emigrants, and feared, from the unstable character of the Government, that the scenes of 1796 might be renewed, expressed a wish to remain in Germany. Napoleon with excited vivacity bade him step into the carriage. "Come," said he, "pass the Rhine without apprehension. They dare not tear you from my side. I will guarantee your safety." There was no cause for alarm, however: the Directory had previously taken note of this proscription, and erased it in compliment to Bonaparte, "being unwilling that a suspected traitor should approach the Conqueror of Italy."

The journey through France was performed privately, and with the utmost expedition. At Paris, where he arrived in the beginning of December, Napoleon resumed his humble residence, Chaussée d'Antin, Rue Chantereine; the same which he had occupied before his appointment to the Army of Italy. As soon as his arrival was known, the leaders of the various political parties called upon him to pay their court. The various avenues leading to his house were constantly crowded with people anxious to catch a glimpse of the young hero: the street in which he lived came in for a portion of

RECEPTION AT THE LUXEMBOURG.

the honour universally accorded to its illustrious inhabitant, and received from the municipality the new name of *Rue de la Victoire*. But Napoleon, with the plain clothes of a private citizen, had assumed the simple unostentatious manners of domestic life. Though courted in the highest circles, he rarely mingled with society; and seemed especially to shun the applause of the populace. The company he received at home was that of a few men of science;—Monge, who had accompanied him through the campaign of Italy, and to whom he had become attached, Berthollet, Borda, La Place, Prony, and La Grange;—and some distinguished military officers: Berthier, Desaix, Lefebvre, Caffarelli-Dufalga, and Kleber; together with a few Deputies.

The 10th of December was fixed for the public reception of Napoleon at the Luxembourg. An immense amphitheatre had been erected at the lower end of the palace-court for the accommodation of the Directors and the other public authorities. The windows were filled with ladies, and the great court with a mighty concourse of the most distinguished citizens of Paris. In the centre of the arena arose a patrial altar, supported by the statues of Liberty, Equality, and Peace. The roof was formed of the standards taken from the national enemies in the campaign of Italy.

On the entrance of the victor, at the head of his staff, the whole multitude arose and uncovered their heads. He was introduced, in a long harangue, by Talleyrand, Minister for Foreign Affairs. Then, with a modest demeanour the hero of Arcola advanced, and in a firm voice addressed the Directors. "The French people," he said, "in order to become free, had banded kings to contend with. To obtain a Constitution founded in reason, the prejudices of eighteen centuries had to be overcome. You, Citizen Directors, and the Constitution of the year THREE, have triumphed over all these obstacles. Superstition, the Feudal system, and Despotism, have successively governed Europe for twenty centuries: but the peace which you have just concluded, is the commencement of an age of Representative Governments. You have accomplished the organization of the GREAT NATION, whose territory is now bounded only by the limits which nature has fixed. You have done more. The two most beautiful regions of Europe, so celebrated once for science, for art, and for the

great men to whom they gave birth, behold with the loftiest aspirations the Genius of Freedom arise from the tombs of their ancestors. These are the two pedestals on which the destinies will place two mighty nations. I have the honour to present to you the treaty signed at Campo-Formio, and ratified by his majesty the Emperor. When the happiness of the French people shall be secured by the best practical laws, the whole of Europe will become free."

The applauses of assembled thousands rent the air when the General ceased to speak. The Directors embraced him, and exhibited the outward signs of a joy by far too extravagant to be real. It was necessary, however, to dissemble. The soldiers, who had followed to victory him of whom Barras that day declared, that "Nature had exhausted all her powers in the creation of a Bonaparte," had sung, as they returned from the fields of their glory, songs which extolled their General as a god; and it was the common cry of the troops that "it was time to turn out the lawyers, and make the *Little Corporal king*." The spectacle at the Luxembourg must, therefore, have truly been what Bourrienne has described it, "heartless and heavy—a mere scene of sentimental comedy."

The Directory, the two Councils, the Municipality, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, invited him to splendid entertainments. At the last, he encountered the celebrated Madame de Staël, the talented daughter of Necker, who, as the reigning Empress of Parisian wit, was eager to enter the lists against the Conqueror of Italy. Amid the numerous and brilliant circle assembled on the occasion, she essayed several times, but in vain, to fix his attention. At length, half-wearied, and chilled with his indifference, she abruptly asked, "Who do you consider, General, the greatest of women, living or dead?" "She," said Napoleon, with great naïveté, "who has borne the greatest number of children." The lady, disconcerted by this answer, observed that he was reported to be no admirer of the fair sex. "I am fond of my wife, Madam," he replied, with a look which sufficiently indicated that the conversation must close. From this period, until that of his reverses, there was enmity between Madame de Staël and Napoleon. The latter, indeed, always entertained an extreme aversion to female politicians.

His general mode of life was little different at this time to what it

POPULAR APPLAUSE.

had been during the days of his obscurity. He was naturally of a shy and retiring disposition; reserved and simple in his habits and manners, even to awkwardness: he seldom shewed himself, therefore, in public; and when unavoidably brought forward and compelled to submit to the boisterous homage of the crowd, he knew too well the worth of such applause to feel flattered by it. "In Paris," he was accustomed to say, "they soon forget everything. If I remain here long in idleness, I shall be lost. One reputation supplants another in this great Babylon. If I shew myself thrice at a spectacle, the people will become familiar with me, and I shall be no longer an object of regard." Nevertheless, he went frequently to the Opera, where he

CONSPIRACY.

usually seated himself in a private box; and though sometimes recognised, and loudly called for, he never presented himself. He even expressed his disapprobation of a design of the managers to give a grand representation in honour of him. Once, however, he sent to request the performance of certain pieces, with a particular cast of the characters, in order to include several favourite actors, if it were possible. "*Possible!*" said the gallant manager, "nothing is impossible, that is desired by the Conqueror of Italy. The General has banished that word from the French dictionary." Bonaparte laughed heartily when this compliment was reported to him. "It must, at all events, be agreeable," said Bourrienne to him one day, when he had withdrawn with his usual precipitation from some noisy popular demonstration, "to be greeted thus by the acclamations of one's fellow-citizens." "Bah!" cried Napoleon; "the same crowd would follow me as eagerly if I were on my way to the scaffold."

Amid all this popularity, however, it had not been forgotten that the idol of the moment was he who had suppressed the revolt of the Sections in Vendémiaire, 1795, and that his voice had decided the recent events of the 18th Fructidor. Soon after his return to Paris, he received a note apprising him of the existence of a conspiracy to

THE INSTITUTE.

poison him. He caused the bearer to be arrested, and to be accompanied by a local magistrate to the house of the female who had furnished the information. On reaching her chamber, she was found upon the floor, bathed in blood, with several stabs in different parts of her body. The men, whose design she had learned and disclosed, having in some way become acquainted with the fact of their betrayal, had taken this fearful mode to get rid of all testimony against them.

On the 28th of December, he was elected a member of the class of arts and sciences in the National Institute: a distinction which seemed to afford him more gratification than all that had been previously conferred upon him. In acknowledgment of this honour, he addressed the following note to Camus, the President:—

“The suffrages of the distinguished men who compose the Institute honour me. I am very sensible that I must be for a long time their pupil, before I can become their equal. If there were any mode more expressive than another to convey to them my sentiments of regard, I would employ that.

“The only true conquests, which leave no regret to the victor, are those we obtain over ignorance. The most honourable, as well as the most useful pursuits of nations, are those which contribute to the extension of the mind of man.

“The real greatness of the French Republic should henceforth consist in not permitting the existence of a single new idea, without its being added to the national intelligence.”

He thenceforth, on all public occasions, adopted the costume of the Institute, and preferred the honour of being classed among men of literary and scientific attainments to the high rank which his military eminence conferred upon him. That there was, however, some degree of affectation in this, he has himself informed us. “I knew,” he afterwards said, “that there was not a drummer in the army but would hold me in higher esteem, for believing me to be something more than a mere soldier.”

Satiated with the incense which had been so unsparingly offered to his fame, and wearied with the idleness of his present life, he began again to long for action. A secret attempt was made to obtain a dispensation, in his favour, of the law respecting a candidate's age for the office of Director; but to this the sitting members declared the

RECOMPENCE.

most decided opposition ; and it was consequently never proposed in public. The jealousy of the Directory had been openly manifested, previously to his arrival in Paris. A motion had been made in the Council of Ancients that the extensive domain of Chambord, and a handsome residence in the capital, should be settled upon him, as a testimony of national gratitude ; and on this being thwarted, M. Malibran, a member of the Council of Five Hundred, proposed that he should be endowed, from the public revenue, with an annual income of fifty thousand livres, and a reversion of half that sum to his wife. To defeat this, the singular argument was advanced, "that the glorious deeds of General Bonaparte were too inestimable to be repaid with gold : " a maxim which, if literally followed out, must inevitably leave the greatest benefactors of a nation and of mankind to pine in indigence ; to say nothing of the admirable economy of such a high-sounding estimate of public services. It is difficult to account satisfactorily for this narrow-minded jealousy and opposition. Perhaps it was hoped that the poverty of Napoleon would restrain his ambition, and compel him to remain in a private station for want of means to place himself at the head of a party. Be this as it may, however, the course pursued towards him was obviously as unwise as it was unjust ; being calculated to disgust and render dangerous one in whom generosity and confidence might have produced attachment : and it was universally known that the General might easily have enriched himself to any extent while in Italy. He had transmitted to the Government upwards of fifty millions of francs ; yet, although he had never been required to render an account, he had retained but a comparatively small sum for his own use, and was in circumstances by no means affluent.

The difference of opinion and sentiment between the ministry and the General, was displayed, without any great effort on either side at concealment, on the occasion of celebrating the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI., the 21st of January, 1798. On the part of the Directors it was at first disputed whether Bonaparte should be invited to attend the ceremony, lest he should be the sole object of public attention ; but when it had been ascertained that he was averse to being present, it was proposed that he should take the most prominent part in the celebration. Napoleon himself hesitated for some time, deeming it

FACTIONS.

impolitic to give the sanction of his presence to a fête, the nature and occasion of which he held in utter abhorrence. He considered the event commemorated as a national calamity, and did not scruple to say that it was unworthy of a great people to triumph, year after year, in the death of an individual who had been declared inviolable and irresponsible by the Constitution itself. After some waste of argument on each side, it was determined that he should appear with his class, as a private member of the Institute. The effect, however, was precisely that which had been dreaded by the Directory. At the church of St. Sulpice, in which the ritual was performed, Napoleon was recognised, and, being pointed out to the multitude, became the object of undivided attraction. At the conclusion of the ceremony the Directors were left to their gloomy meditations, while the whole city resounded with shouts of "Long live the General of the Army of Italy." This circumstance, trivial as it was in itself, added to the bitterness of heart with which the members of the Government heard the universal echo of Bonaparte's praise, and filled them with dark presentiments of the speedy termination of their own sovereignty.

As they dared not to inflict open indignities upon the object of their hate, they were compelled to resort to meannesses, which, added to their long felt imbecility and mal-administration, rendered them so unpopular, that the friends of Napoleon were encouraged to urge him at once to seize the reins of power, and place himself at the head of the nation. He was too cautious, however, to venture upon any merely experimental step; and, after carefully balancing his own weight with that of the parties likely to be opposed to him, he thought it prudent to decline the venture. "The pear," to use his own words, "was not ripe." The factions into which the country was divided were many. The ultra-democrats were numerous; the more moderate republican supporters of the present Constitution still possessed great power, and were backed by the Armies of the Rhine, strong, well-disciplined, and entertaining some degree of jealous hostility against the leader of more successful, and consequently more honoured and more wealthy troops. The Army of Italy, upon which alone he could rely, was distant and scattered: and it was more than probable that to oppose his accession, the Royalists and Republicans would have made common cause. The indirect influence which his success in

Italy had exerted upon the government and the people, and the want of his presence, or proximity, was not yet felt or understood. To give him an entire ascendancy with all classes, to induce men to think of him individually, not as a mere portion of the public machine kept in motion by others, but as its head and mover, it was necessary that he should for a time be absent from the scene of action, and that his recall to sustain the sinking State should be universally demanded. He accordingly turned his thoughts once more towards the East; "that theatre," as he described it, "of mighty empires, where all the great revolutions of the earth had arisen, where mind had its birth, and all religions their cradle, and where six hundred millions of men still had a dwelling-place." Egypt was the country that now allured him; and through this land he hoped to reach the British possessions in India, and to found a new empire, extending from the mouths of the Nile to the banks of the Ganges. The idea, though perhaps vague and extravagant, was a sublime one, and worthy of the genius of Napoleon. The developement of circumstances, as yet shrouded in futurity, could alone determine whether it was to be pursued as a reality, or to be merely subservient to a more dearly cherished purpose.

The project was suggested to the Directory; but this body was desirous of attacking England upon her own soil, and of employing the aid of the Conqueror of Italy for that purpose. Their wishes were announced to him; but, before committing himself to any definitive plan of operations, he deemed it necessary to make a survey of the coast, and to obtain information from the pilots, sailors, fishermen, and smugglers best acquainted with the narrow seas which required to be crossed in the contemplated expedition. He proceeded, therefore, by Etaples, Ambleteuse, Boulogne, Calais, Dunkirk, Furnes, Nieuport, Ostend, and Walcheren, to examine what chances of success might present themselves. The result was a determination to renounce the scheme as impracticable. "It is too desperate a hazard," he said: "I will not stake the fate of our beautiful France upon such a cast." The fact was, that, independently of the superiority of the English navy, which rendered it extremely probable that a hostile force would be destroyed or captured even before it reached its destination, England was in no

PREPARATIONS.

condition to be revolutionized. At the mere threat of invasion the enthusiasm of the whole people had burst forth in one patriotic gush. Differences of sect and party were instantly forgotten, and the same resolve actuated every breast and nerved every hand: a determination to preserve from outrage, or insult, the palaces and cottages of Britain. The conquest of this country could at no time have appeared to Napoleon otherwise than as a means of diverting the attention of England from other designs.

The Directors seeing the hopelessness of their own project, were glad to promote the accomplishment of that of Bonaparte, as a means of removing to a distance him whose competition and talents they had so much cause to fear. Every facility was therefore afforded him; men, money, ships of war, frigates, transports: nothing was withheld. He was allowed to have the sole appointment of the officers, and the arrangement of the entire plan and conduct of the expedition; the preparations for which were upon a scale of magnitude commensurate with the importance of the undertaking. The various squadrons of the fleet were ordered to Toulon, while the army, which had been destined for the descent upon England, was marched to the shores of the Mediterranean. The troops consisted chiefly of picked men from the Army of Italy: the Generals and officers being those who had attained most distinction in their several departments during the wars of the Republic. Among them were Kleber, Desaix, Lannes, Murat, Berthier, Caffarelli, Regnier, Andreossi, Menou, D'Hilliers, and Belliard. The naval force was under the command of Admiral Brueys. To these were added a troop of a hundred *Savans*—men eminent for art, science, and literature; the utility of whose appointment was much questioned at the time, and has been ridiculed since. It is to their labours, however, that we must look for the chief results of the Egyptian expedition. By revealing to us the modern, and much of the ancient state of that mysterious region, and its resources, they first opened the gates of civilizing commerce, in that quarter, to European enterprise. The resuscitation of Egyptian power and importance was the act of Napoleon Bonaparte and his despised *Connoisseurs*.

The minutest details of the expedition were examined by Napoleon, and arranged according to his direction. He organised everything,

TOULON.

knew the strength of every corps of the army, and the capacity of every officer ; and gave all the necessary orders respecting stores, provisions, and equipments, in person. " He laboured night and day to further his design. His words ran with the rapidity of lightning along the line of coast from Toulon to the Tiber." All these preparations, however, were kept strictly secret. Decrees and orders of the Government still continued to be published of a nature calculated to rivet the attention of England to the shores of Picardy, Normandy, and Belgium ; and so anxious was Napoleon to maintain this delusion, that he desired his secretary to tell all who might enquire, even his own family, that the expedition would sail from the harbour of Brest.

Some disputes which arose at this time, respecting an absurd attempt made by the agents of the Directory to revolutionize Switzerland and Rome upon the French model, and a gratuitous insult offered by Bernadotte to the Court of Vienna, delayed the departure of the General for a short time, and had nearly induced him to abandon the undertaking altogether. But after sounding several parties, whose aid would have been required in the new adventure which suggested itself, he became satisfied that the hour was not yet come. On the 3rd of May, 1798, he therefore quitted Paris ; resolved to be guided by circumstances, whether his return should be at the end of a few months, of several years, or never.

On reaching Toulon he reviewed the troops, and harangued them in an animating address. " Rome," he said, " combatted Carthage by sea as well as by land ; and England is the Carthage of France. I am come to lead you, in the name of the Goddess of Liberty, across mighty seas, into remote realms, where your valour may achieve such glory and such wealth as could never be hoped for beneath the cold skies of the West. The meanest soldier in the army shall receive seven acres of land as his share in the enterprise." His promises had not hitherto been made in vain. The soldiers therefore heard him with joy ; and replied with enthusiastic cheers, and loud cries of " Live the Immortal Republic !"

The expedition, however, was still delayed by the vigilance of the English ; who, without being aware of their object, had narrowly watched the preparations at Toulon. Nelson was cruising within

EMIGRANTS.

sight of the port at the time of Napoleon's arrival; and the latter well knew that to embark in his presence would be to brave almost certain

destruction: he therefore waited till fortune should enable him to elude the threatened danger. But in the mean time he was not idle. At Toulon, the barbarous law respecting emigrants was still enforced with all its terrific rigour. A few months before this period an old man of eighty had been shot. Indignant on learning this outrage on humanity, the General wrote to the Military Commissioners, relating the transaction alluded to, and concluding thus:—"I exhort you, Citizens, when the law presents at your tribunal old men and females, to declare that, in the midst of war, Frenchmen respect the aged and the women, even of their enemies. The soldier who signs a sentence

EMBARKATION.

against one incapable of bearing arms is a coward." "This letter," says De Bourrienne, "saved one unfortunate being actually under sentence, and gave great satisfaction to all the inhabitants and the army." There was, perhaps, no other man in France who would have dared thus to assert the power to modify a law, which, though cruel and iniquitous, was still a law, and in active operation.

On the evening of the 18th of May, the English were driven off the coast by a violent gale, which so disabled some of the ships, that Nelson was compelled to put into the harbours of Sardinia to refit. Napoleon, seizing the opportunity, commanded the instant embarkation of the troops. He himself took a tender leave of Josephine, whom he had brought with him to Toulon, in order to enjoy as

long as possible the charms of her society. Passionately as he loved his own glory and that of France, this amiable woman engrossed an equal share of his attachment. His devotion to her, indeed, approached to idolatry.

As the fleet got under-weigh, the sun—one of those resplendent suns which the French soldiery were subsequently accustomed to call the *Suns of Napoleon*—rose on the mighty armament. "Seldom," says Mr. Lockhart, "have the shores of the Mediterranean witnessed

DEPARTURE.

a nobler spectacle. That unclouded sun rose on a semi-circle of vessels, extending in all to not less than six leagues; thirteen ships of the line, fourteen frigates, and four hundred transports; carrying thirty thousand chosen soldiers, with officers whose names were only inferior to that of the General-in-chief."

CHAPTER VII.

VOYAGE TO EGYPT—MALTA—ALEXANDRIA—BATTLE OF THE PYRAMIDS—
CAIRO. 1798.

BE the fleet had proceeded far, it was reinforced by the squadron bearing Dessaix's division from Italy; and on the 10th of June, the expedition arrived off Malta, the garrison of which was immediately summoned by Bonaparte to surrender. This stronghold was occupied by the religious

Order of Knights of St. John, so renowned during the middle ages for chivalrous exploits in the defence of Christendom against the Saracens and Turks. The race of warrior-priests, however, had become extinct, and a generation of idle voluptuaries had succeeded them, whose large revenues were consumed in giving balls and entertainments in the various ports of Italy. The Grand Master had been successfully tampered with by the agents of the Directory; and, after the feeblest shew of resistance, the gates of the almost impregnable fortress were opened to the troops of the invader. As Napoleon passed through the rocky barriers of La Valette, Caffarelli exclaimed to him, "It is well, General, that we had friends within to admit us:

THE VOYAGE.

had there been no garrison at all, the conquest might not have been achieved so easily." The Turkish prisoners found here were set at liberty, and the condition of those who had been condemned to the galleys was much ameliorated. Having left a sufficient force for the defence and government of the island, the General-in-chief resumed his voyage on the 19th, accompanied by several Knights of the Cross, who solicited posts in the French army.

During the voyage, Napoleon's chief pleasure was to discourse with Monge and Berthollet on scientific subjects, with Admiral Brueys on naval tactics, and with General Caffarelli, who possessed a fund of knowledge and experience, on general affairs. At dinner, in addition to the officers of his staff and the Admiral, the attendance of a few of the colonels and commandants was usually invited, among whom he promoted discussions on abstract questions furnished by himself, relating to history, mythology, and science. Among the subjects

proposed may be enumerated, — "Are the planets inhabited?" "What is the age of the world?" "Will the earth be destroyed by fire or water?" The object of these discussions was to afford the General an opportunity of studying at leisure the talents and capacity of

THE VOYAGE.

those whom he would shortly have occasion to employ; and it is a somewhat characteristic circumstance, that he always bestowed greater commendation upon those who ingeniously supported an absurd hypothesis, than upon those who argued with equal ability in support of a rational opinion. Another characteristic trait was displayed during this voyage. From the crowded state of the vessels, and the want of precaution in those unacquainted with nautical manœuvres, it frequently happened that a man fell overboard. When this occurred Napoleon, though so lavish of human life upon the field of battle, was unable to rest till the person was extricated. He would order the vessel to lay-to, and bestow liberal rewards upon the sailors most active in the rescue; he would even exempt those who had distinguished themselves upon such occasions from punishment for breach of discipline. One dark night, a noise was heard as of a man overboard. The word to put the ship about was instantly given by the General; and when after considerable exertion it was found that all the stir had been occasioned by the slipping of a quarter of beef from a noose at the bulwark, Napoleon ordered that the recompense should be more liberal than usual:—"It might," said he, "have been a man, and the zeal and courage now displayed have not been less than would have been required in that event."

The greatest anxiety to escape the English was displayed throughout the voyage. It is but just to add, that Brueys complained bitterly of the inefficiency of his fleet; of the encumbered state and imperfect arming of the ships of war and frigates, and of the weakness of the crews of all. He declared that it had required no little resolution to take charge of the armament; and said that in case of attack, even by an inferior squadron, the confusion among such a multitude, and the immense quantity of baggage, would inevitably produce a catastrophe, by impeding the necessary operations. "God grant," he one day exclaimed, "that we may pass without meeting the English! for had they but ten good ships they might defeat us." The expedition was destined to escape the dreaded encounter. Nelson, finding on his return to Toulon that the French had left that port, and having ascertained that they had not sailed for the Atlantic, proceeded to Naples, where he first heard of the capture of Malta, and the departure of the fleet from thence towards the East. He at once

DISEMBARKATION.

concluded that Egypt was their destination, and thitherwards accordingly made all sail. On the 26th of June, the adverse fleets almost touched each other, off the coast of Candia—that of Nelson being seen by one of Napoleon's frigates, standing to the Westward, although the hazy weather prevented the French from being observed. The English Admiral arrived before Alexandria on the 28th of June; but being still unable to gain any intelligence of the enemy, he sailed for Rhodes and Syracuse; nor was it till a month afterwards that he obtained certain information of what had become of the armament which had so strangely eluded him. The French having learned the movements of their opponents, instead of steering direct for Alexandria, bent their course towards a more northerly point of the African coast, and on the 29th came in sight of Cape Aza, when, on reconnoitring the shore, it was ascertained that the fleet that had presented itself but the day before had again departed. On the 1st of July, the French appeared off Alexandria; and so great was the apprehension of the return of the English, that Napoleon, at the risk of being wrecked, hastened to throw himself ashore; and, although it was past noon, and a high wind and surf prevailed, and the shore was beset with dangerous reefs, he ordered the immediate disembarkation of the troops. To the Admiral's representations of danger, and request for a few hours' delay, he replied, "There is no time to lose. If I profit not by the opportunity now afforded me, the expedition will be destroyed." At the moment when the preparations for landing were going forward, a strange sail was seen upon the horizon. "Fortune!" exclaimed the General, in agony, "I ask of thee but a short respite; wilt thou forsake me now?" The vessel proved to be a French frigate, *La Justice*. In the course of the night, the troops, cheered by the presence and active superintendence of Napoleon, landed, with much less loss than was anticipated, at Marabout, an anchorage about three leagues from Alexandria. Before disembarking, the following proclamation had been distributed among the troops:—

"Soldiers! You are about to undertake a conquest, the effects of which upon the commerce and civilization of the world are incalculable. You will strike a blow at England, the most sure and vital she can receive until you inflict her death-stroke. We have some

PROCLAMATION.

fatiguing marches to make, some actions to win; but success will crown our exertions. The destinies are favourable. The Mamelukes, who are in the pay of England, and tyrannize over this unfortunate country, will soon after our landing have ceased to exist.

“The people with whom we are about to be connected are Mahometans. It is the first article of their creed, that ‘There is no other God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet.’ Do not gainsay them: live with them as you have lived with the Italians and with the Jews. Pay the same deference to their muftis and imauns, as you have paid to the bishops and the rabbins. Shew to the ceremonies prescribed by the Koran, and to the mosques, the same tolerance as you have shewn to the convents and the synagogues, to the religion of Jesus and of Moses. All religions were protected by the legions of ancient Rome.

ALEXANDRIA.

"You will find here customs that are greatly at variance with those of Europe: accustom yourselves to respect them. The inhabitants treat their women differently from us: but in every country he who violates is a monster. Pillage enriches only a few, while it dishonours an army, destroys its resources, and makes enemies of those whom it is the interest of all to attach as friends.

"The first city we shall approach was built by Alexander. Every step we take will awaken sublime recollections, worthy of exciting the emulation of Frenchmen."

Napoleon did not wait for the landing of the whole army; but as soon as three or four thousand men had reached the shore, they were formed into battle order upon the beach, and directed to march upon Alexandria, which city they reached shortly after day-break on the 2nd. The attack commenced immediately; and the feeble garrison, being totally unprepared for hostilities from a nation with which they had been hitherto at peace, were unable to make an effectual resistance. They shut the gates, however, and showered stones and volleys of musket-shot upon their assailants: but these were of little avail against an enemy to whom war in its most dreadful aspect had grown familiar. The walls were old and ruinous, and in many places presented breaches incapable of defence. Through these an entrance was soon effected by some Guides, who, pouring a steady fire for a few seconds upon the Moslem soldiers that manned the walls, created among them the utmost consternation. After a few hours the place capitulated, and the troops of Napoleon were speedily quartered in the capital of Cleopatra and the Ptolemies.

The first object of the French General was to conciliate the Scheiks, the civil authorities of Egypt, and the settled inhabitants, a peaceable and harmless race, by flattering the animosity they were known to cherish against the Mamelukes, the military rulers of the country, who exercised the most unlimited despotism over every other class of the natives. Proclamations in French and Arabic were issued from head-quarters, setting forth that the French, who had destroyed the Papal power and that of the Maltese Knights of the Cross, were the friends of God and all true Mussulmans; and that the sole object of their expedition was to put an end to the unjust oppression and tyranny of the Mamelukes. "We," said one of these addresses,

MARCH TO DUMANHOUR.

“ who have in all ages been the allies of the Grand Seignor, and the enemies of his enemies, come not to make war against true believers ; but against the blasphemers who have revolted from the rightful authority of the Sublime Porte. Thrice happy shall they be who assist us—blest in their fortune and inheritance : but woe to all who arm in defence of the Mamelukes, and fight against us. For them there is neither recompense nor hope. It is decreed, that they shall perish !”

Five days were passed at Alexandria in refreshing the army after its harassing voyage ; obtaining information respecting the state of the country, and its government and resources ; and in arranging the details of the intended campaign. Desaix, meanwhile, with a division of nearly five thousand men, was despatched to Beda to open communications with the native Arabs, whose assistance it was hoped to obtain ; and to operate as an advanced guard on the route to Cairo. On the 7th of July, leaving Kleber in command of the garrison, Napoleon set out across the plains of Bohahireh for Dumanhour. The course lay along the Nile, on which a small flotilla, under the orders of Commodore Perée, was launched, to ascend the stream and protect the right flank of the army. The uncultivated wilderness which had now to be traversed was entirely destitute of shelter ; and the Arabs, who hovered around, harassed the troops incessantly, cutting off every one who ventured to straggle a few yards from his corps. They also poisoned the springs, emptied the cisterns, and destroyed all signs of vegetation by the way. The intense heat of the sun, the rapidity of the march, the blinding and blistering sands, the swarms of pestiferous insects, and the absence of water, felt more acutely in consequence of the frequent appearance of the illusive *mirage*, discouraged the soldiers, and produced loud murmurs. Accustomed to the voluptuous climate and plentiful fertility of Italy, the troops were utterly unfit for a campaign in the arid deserts of Africa. With any other commander than Napoleon their rage would, in all probability, have led to excesses that must have rendered them an easy prey to the Mamelukes. “ Is this the country,” exclaimed the men, “ in which the General promised us farms of seven acres each ? He might have allowed us to name our own quantities : we should not have abused his liberality.” Nor was this discontent confined to

DUMANHOUR.

those in the ranks. Officers of the highest eminence, even Murat and Lannes, unable to restrain their disgust, threw their laced hats upon the sand, and trampled upon them in burning agony and anger.

On the first night of this tormenting march a mischance occurred, which nearly proved fatal to the General-in-chief and his staff. Advancing in the dark, with a weak escort, and half asleep from fatigue, they were suddenly assailed with a heavy fire of musketry. It proved to be from the division of Desaix, the outposts of which, having challenged the party and received no answer, had mistaken it for a body of the enemy. Fortunately, the extent of injury sustained was a slight wound in the hand by one of the Guides.

At Dumanhour, Napoleon fixed his head-quarters in the house of the Scheik ; which, being newly painted, presented externally an appearance of comfort, which the interior by no means confirmed. Every apartment indicated squalidness and misery : scarcely a piece of furniture was whole. The seats were coarse, worn-out mats ; the drinking vessels were broken ; and nothing but the most indispensable articles, and those of the worst description, was to be found. The proprietor meanwhile was known to be rich. Napoleon treated him with kindness and consideration, and enquired, through an interpreter, why he thus mortified himself, assuring him that an unreserved answer should subject him to no inconvenience. " Some years since," said the old man, " I repaired and furnished my dwelling. Information of this was carried to Cairo, and having been thus proved to be wealthy, a large sum of money was demanded from me, and the bastinado inflicted till I consented to pay it. Look at my feet, which bear witness what I endured. From that time I have reduced myself to the barest necessities, and no longer seek to repair anything." He was still lame, and found it difficult to walk. This was a specimen of the tyranny of the Mamelukes, who kept spies throughout the country to denounce all who were suspected to possess money. Poverty itself in this misgoverned land afforded no exemption from rapacity and oppression. The Fellahs and Bedouins, who corresponded to the peasantry of Europe, were reduced to the condition of slaves, and compelled to surrender their wives and children, and even their own persons, to the absolute will of the despots who ruled them.

RAHMANIAH.

On the 10th, the army reached Rahmaniah, where it was joined by the division of Dugua, which had come by forced marches from Rosetta. Most of the *Savans*, and others of the civil service, were now embarked on the flotilla. The difficulties of the march from this place were greatly increased by the number of Mamelukes who began

to shew themselves, with more boldness, on each side of the Nile. Mounted on the fleetest Arabian horses, and every one armed with pistol, sabre, carbine, and blunderbuss, of the best English manufacture, these plumed and gold-spangled warriors were truly formidable as skirmishers. Their charge was almost as swift as the wind, and their excellent horsemanship enabled them to gallop to the attack, discharge their carbines while in full career with unerring aim, to halt, wheel, and retreat, with a precision and celerity of which even the gallant soldiers of the Army of Italy had no previous conception. The nature of the ground greatly favoured the manœuvres of these flying hordes. The least motion or breath of wind raised a cloud of dust through which nothing could be accurately discerned; and the constant glare of the sun dazzled the French soldiers almost to blindness. To leave the line in pursuit, brought instant and certain destruction. A troop of horsemen would dash upon the adventurers, cut them down with their keen sabres, and be again afar off in the desert, almost before a musket could be levelled to avenge the fallen.

On the 13th, these incursions received an important check. Murad Bey, the most intrepid of the Mameluke chiefs, assembled a large army, drew together seven or eight gun-boats, and constructed several batteries on the banks of the river to oppose the progress of the French at the village of Chebreisse. Napoleon marshalled his army in five divisions, forming as many square battalions, with artillery placed in the intervals between each. Perée, with the flotilla, was ordered to attack the gun-boats. The action was obstinate; but, compared with the number on each side engaged, attended with little bloodshed. The Mamelukes at first displayed a courage and determination which nothing could surpass; but the steady fire and impenetrable lines of their opponents disconcerted them. In vain they sought a point of entrance for their spirited cavalry, in which their superior swordsmanship might be rendered availing. Towards evening, therefore, after much skirmishing, during which the French wings had been several times outflanked, the Turkish soldiers, unable to make any impression upon the dense bodies opposed to them, drew off, and speedily disappeared. The flotilla meanwhile had been engaged for above three hours with the gun-boats and batteries. Perée was wounded; and two of his small craft having been boarded,

SHABUR.

their crews were massacred by the savage foe, who held up their victims' bleeding heads to mock and intimidate the crews of the other vessels. At length, however, the Turkish commander's boat having been blown up, and a detachment of French troops appearing on the bank of the river to storm the batteries, the Turks precipitately retired. In this engagement, Monge, Berthollet, and Bourrienne, who were on board the flotilla, greatly distinguished themselves for courage and presence of mind.

On the night succeeding the battle, the army bivouacked at Shabur under some fine sycamore-trees, the refreshing verdure of which was exceedingly grateful. Here they found abundance of *battechs*, a species of water-melon highly palatable and nutritious. This fruit was afterwards met with in great plenty along the banks of the river as far as Cairo; and the soldiers expressed their sense of its value by calling it, like the ancient Egyptians, the *Holy Battech*.

The remainder of the march was made without interruption from

DISCONTENT.

the dreadful Mamelukes, who had retreated to Cairo to collect their scattered forces, and prepare for a vigorous defence of the capital. But the intense heat, and the torturing stings of myriads of flies, were not abated, nor were the soldiers able to procure a sufficient supply of fresh water—that of the Nile being muddy, brackish, and full of insects. Nevertheless, it was not so much from actual privation, as from incessant ferment of mind, that the troops murmured. Immense quantities of wheat were found in the neighbourhood of every village, which, in the absence of mills, the men were accustomed to bruise between stones, and afterwards bake or boil. Lentils were also obtained in great plenty, with pigeons, and not unfrequently meat: all of which the inhabitants would sell for the buttons from the French uniform. But the army had been accustomed to the luxuries of Italy, and on the voyage to Egypt had indulged in dreams of immediate and unbounded wealth. When the men, therefore, saw the sterility around them they were in despair. It was in vain to assure them that the district they approached was the most fertile in the world; that it exceeded in fruitfulness and beauty the delicious plains of Lombardy. The evils of the present were magnified by contrast with the past, and the future was darkened by apprehension. Some asserted that Cairo itself was not a great city, as reported, but a mere assemblage of miserable huts, like Dumanhour and the villages they had passed. “For what purpose are we brought here?” asked the discontented. “The Directory has transported us,” said some. “It was the *Savans*,” cried others, who looked with no congenial eye upon the activity displayed by the scientific men whenever any remains of antiquity were discovered: “It was the *Savans* who suggested the expedition, to enable them to make their researches in security.” Upon this learned body, indeed, bitter jests were showered remorselessly. They rode upon asses, which the men thence denominated *demi-savans*; and when on any alarm the squares were ordered to open to admit the civil corps, the jeering of the military was without measure. “Room for the asses,” was shouted along the lines: “stand back, and make way for the *savans* and *demi-savans*.” Of General Caffarelli, who had lost one leg upon the banks of the Rhine, and whose gaiety and good-humour never forsook him, it used to be said, as he hobbled past, “He laughs at our troubles, because

OMEDINAR.

he is sure, whatever happens, to have one foot in France." To such a height was the melancholy mania of the troops carried, indeed, that several men shot themselves through the head, and others leaped into the Nile, with all their accoutrements, to perish amid the waters. Many of the officers complained even more loudly than the soldiers. More than one conspiracy was formed to seize the flags, and return to Alexandria. One day, the Commander-in-chief presented himself suddenly in the midst of a group of general officers, who had been speaking contemptuously of himself; when, addressing the tallest, he exclaimed: "So, Sir! you have used mutinous language. If I were to fulfil my duty, I should cause you to be shot within a couple of hours, despite your five-foot-ten."

But neither discontent nor clamour could divert Napoleon from his purpose. He even affected to experience no inconvenience from what excited such horror and disgust in others; and the strength of his constitution enabled him to maintain the superiority he assumed. He usually walked at the head of the troops, with his coat buttoned as when he was at Paris: and while the men, half undressed, were suffused with perspiration, not a bead of moisture was to be seen upon his brow. He fared as the soldiers fared, and bivouacked in the midst of the army, often in the most incommodious situations; where he was the last to fold his cloak around him at night, and the first to start from the ground in the morning.

As the army approached Cairo, however, the hopes and spirits of the soldiers began to improve. Provisions of better quality were obtained, and vegetation became more general. At Wardan, on the 18th, the troops rested for the night in a magnificent forest of palm-trees; and the next day the massive Pyramids were first discerned breaking the line of the horizon on the right bank of the Nile. Napoleon was now informed that the Mamelukes, combined with the militia of the city and with a considerable number of Janissaries, Spahis, and Arabs, were waiting before Gizeh to arrest the advance of the French.

The army halted for a day at Omedinar; and at dawn on the 21st came within sight of the first body of the enemy which had been seen since the battle of Chebreisse. This corps, which was the Mameluke vanguard, consisting of about a thousand horse, merely shewed itself

THE PYRAMIDS.

and retreated ; and it was not till near noon that the lines of Murad Bey were distinguished, extending from the Nile towards the Pyramids, so as to cover the approach to Cairo.

The French formed in squares, with intervals of artillery between each, as in their last action ; their left resting on the river, and their right on a village. Murad Bey had constructed a large entrenched camp upon the bank of the Nile, lined with forty pieces of artillery, and defended by about twenty thousand infantry and mixed troops: the right of the Mamelukes, of whom there were about ten thousand in the field, with as many armed attendants on foot, was supported by this entrenched camp, and their left, crossing the road to Gizeh, extended into the plain,—the space between them and the Pyramids being occupied by two or three thousand Arabs. These dispositions were skilful and formidable ; and, from the impetuous bravery previously displayed by the soldiers of Murad, the engagement was expected to be a sharp and decisive one. Napoleon reconnoitred the positions of the enemy, and by the aid of a good telescope discovered that the Turkish artillery was without field carriages, being merely large iron pieces taken from the vessels, and served by the crews that had been engaged at Chebreisse. It appeared evident, therefore, that neither the guns nor the infantry were intended to quit the camp, and that by prolonging the French right, the army might operate in that direction altogether out of the range of the cannon.

Murad Bey, perceiving that the French columns were in motion, instantly guessed their object, and with almost intuitive discernment foresaw that the fate of his army depended upon frustrating the execution of the manœuvre. He advanced, therefore, at the head of between five and six thousand of his gorgeous and gallant cavalry to overthrow, or drive back, the advancing division ; and had he been well supported, the corps of Desaix, which had just emerged from a grove of palm-trees, and had not had time to form, would most likely have been destroyed. When the main body of the Mamelukes came up, however, the square was perfect, and the charge of the horsemen was met with a steady fire of musketry. These chivalrous warriors of the desert, hurrying along and around the square with wild yells and battle-cries, now tried every means to effect an entrance among the ranks of their opponents. Notwithstanding the ceaseless shower

THE PYRAMIDS.

of grape-shot, shells, and ball, they rushed upon the bayonets of the infantry, and, failing to disturb the lines, wheeled round and reined their horses backward upon the ranks, that they might fall into and disorder them; and becoming frantic when they saw that all their efforts were in vain, they hurled at the French soldiers their poniards, pistols, and carbines; while those who fell crawled along the ground to cut at the legs of their foes with their scimitars. Still the French phalanxes were immoveable. At last Napoleon, who was in the square of Dugua, pointing to the eternal monuments which overlooked the scene of action, called out to his brave followers, who, however



THE PYRAMIDS.

discontented at other times, exhibited, on all occasions when their services were required in action, the indomitable courage and admirable organization of the Army of Italy: "Soldiers! from the summits of these Pyramids, forty centuries look down upon you;" and gave the word to advance upon the main body of the Mamelukes. The number of the latter was already thinned by the bayonet and the continued roll of the French musketry, and they were unable to sustain the attack of fresh antagonists. At the approach of Bonaparte they were panic-stricken and fled. In the midst of a dreadful fire of musketry and grape-shot, of columns of dust and smoke, and the most fearful cries, part of the Turkish cavalry regained their entrenched camp,—flying thither on an impulse natural to soldiers, to retreat towards the place whence they set out. Murad Bey himself and a few of the most expert hastened towards Gizeh; but by so doing, the Chief was entirely separated from his army.

Meanwhile, as the French continued to advance, the confusion in the camp of the enemy became terrific. The cavalry threw itself upon the infantry, which, seeing the Mamelukes beaten, rushed into the boats and other vessels at hand to cross the Nile. Some, perceiving that their retreat had been in the wrong direction, endeavoured to regain the Gizeh road; and Murad Bey more than once turned back, and made some desperate charges to open a road for them; but it was in vain. They were routed by the French soldiers; many being killed in the entrenchments, and many more, seeking to gain the opposite bank of the Nile, were drowned in the attempt. The floating bodies of the Arabs, said to have amounted to five thousand, carried the news of the victory in a few days to Rosetta, Damietta, and all the places along the banks of the river.

The loss of the enemy in the field was estimated at ten thousand men. Of all the cavalry engaged, not more than two thousand five hundred, who accompanied the movements of Murad Bey, escaped. The Turkish artillery, pontoons, and baggage, with a thousand prisoners, eight or nine hundred camels, and as many horses, fell into the hands of the French. Had the flotilla been able to keep up with the army, the whole wealth of the Mamelukes, which was embarked in about sixty vessels on the river, would have been added to the spoils of the day: but, on witnessing the disastrous result of the battle, those

GIZEH.

entrusted with the care of the shipping set it on fire. By the light of this conflagration, the soldiers were enabled during the night to observe the forms and count the number of the towers and minarets of Cairo and its great cemetery, or "City of the Dead;" while the more distant Pyramids reflected with indescribable solemnity the awful glare.

The Arabs did not attempt to rally till they had reached the Desert beyond the Pyramids, far from the fatal field. For several days afterwards many of the French soldiers were engaged in fishing for the bodies of the Mamelukes who had been drowned: their valuable arms and accoutrements, and the quantity of gold which they were accustomed to carry with them — frequently amounting to four or five hundred Louis-d'ors — rendered this service exceedingly agreeable.

Napoleon quartered himself for the night in the country-house of *Mumad Bey*, at Gizeh, which, if destitute of European conveniences, afforded abundant evidence that the luxury of the East was not merely imaginary. The apartments were filled with cushions and divans, covered with the finest damask and Lyons' silks, and fringed with gold. Rich carpets, porcelains, vases of perfume, and other articles of the most tasteful and elegant kind were found, to excite the curiosity and tempt the cupidity of the soldiers. The gardens were full of magnificent fruit and other trees, and beautiful flowers, interspersed with arbours of vines loaded with the finest grapes in the world. The vintage, as might have been expected, was soon over. In the conservatories were great quantities of delicious preserves, confectionary, and sweetmeats. The army now began to be reconciled to Egypt, and to believe that Cairo was not like *Dumanhour*; but that, in proportion to the poverty and destitution of the people, the towns and habitations of their oppressors, who drained them of every comfort, were stored with all the luxuries and delicacies afforded by the clime.

The next morning at daybreak, a division, under General Vial, took the island of *Rodah*; and the army prepared to enter Cairo: whither, however, Napoleon first despatched a Dragoman with a letter to the Pacha, and the proclamations which had been published at Alexandria, declaring that it was not against the Turks but against the Mamelukes that the French people made war. The Pacha had

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already left the city; and in the course of the day Ibrahim Bey and his troops also departed, and a deputation was sent to the Conqueror to implore his clemency, and offer an immediate and unconditional surrender. The name of Bonaparte had spread terror through the whole

country. From the deadly effects of his musketry he was called the "Sultan Kebir," or Father of Fire: and a superstitious fear arose among the people, that he was destined to be the scourge of their race, and that it was hopeless to attempt resistance to his invincible might.

In the afternoon of the 24th, Napoleon made his public entry into Cairo, and fixed his head-quarters at the house of Elphi Bey, in the great square of El-Bekir. On the following day he wrote to his brother Joseph, who was then a member of the Council of Five Hundred:—"You will have seen in the public papers the bulletins of the Conquest of Egypt, a country the possession of which has been

LETTER TO JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

sufficiently disputed to add another laurel to the glory of the army. The land is the richest on earth in corn, rice, vegetables, and cattle; but the people are sunk in the grossest barbarism. There is little money; not even enough to pay the troops. I expect to be in France in two months. Engage for me a house either in Burgundy or near Paris. I think of passing the winter there."

From this letter, and some memoranda made at the time, it is evident that Napoleon considered the conquest of Egypt so well assured, that its completion might be safely left to the skill and prudence of an inferior commander; and that his object in returning to France, in addition to that of being at hand to watch the turn of events at the seat of Government, was to be enabled to send out reinforcements of men, provisions, and military stores, to colonize and settle the country he had just taken, as a dependency of the Republic.

CHAPTER VIII.

ISRAHIM BEY—BATTLE OF THE NILE—ADMINISTRATION OF NAPOLEON IN EGYPT—MARCH TO SYRIA—EL-ARISH—GAZA—JAPPA—ACRE—RETURN TO EGYPT—ABOUKIR—NAPOLEON EMBARKS FOR FRANCE. 1798—1799.

HE General-in-chief lost no time in endeavouring to consolidate the power which the fall of the Egyptian capital had placed in his hands. The strictest discipline was enforced in the army; which was rendered the more necessary, indeed, from the disposition of the soldiers to disregard the restrictions imposed by the customs and prejudices of the native inhabitants. The mosques, the harems, the civil and religious customs and rites of the people, were scrupulously respected; and so greatly superior in point of personal security was the administration of Napoleon to that of the Mameluke Beys, that, notwithstanding the difference of creed between the Arabs and the French, and the recent hostile position of the two races, the best understanding was, in two or three days, established

CONCILIATION.

among them; and the latter, being freely admitted by the former, to their houses, might be seen taking coffee or smoking with them, assisting in their labours, or playing with their children. Provisional governments were organized, and a general ordinance of four articles promulgated, in order to secure uniformity of administration in all the cities and provinces occupied by the troops. The object of Napoleon was not to revolutionize, but to reform the government of the country; and for this, the brief code which he established was admirably adapted. By the first article, a divan of seven persons was required to superintend the general police of each district; by the second, the military defence of each province was entrusted to an Aga and sixty officers of the Janissaries, acting under the direction of the French Commandant; by the third, an intendant was nominated, with requisite subordinates, to collect the revenue, in the same ratio and amount as it was collected under the Mamelukes; and the fourth, required that all correspondence between the different officers of departments should pass through the hands of a French Commissary.

To inspire additional confidence in the good intentions of the invaders, Napoleon sent Eugene Beauharnais, his son-in-law and aide-de-camp, to assure the wife of Murad Bey that she had no occasion to fear being deprived of the private property, or possessions, which she or her husband had previously enjoyed: and so highly was this compliment esteemed, that the young and handsome envoy was admitted to an audience in the harem, entertained with coffee, sherbet, and other refreshments, served up in the richest plate and most sumptuous style; and, at his departure, presented with a ring, worth a thousand louis, from the finger of the lady—a Circassian of fifty years old; but still remarkably graceful in form and address, and possessing a voice of much sweetness.

While these efforts were being made at Cairo to secure the conquest of the country by conciliating the people, Desaix was engaged in the pursuit of Murad Bey and the Mamelukes, who had escaped from the Battle of the Pyramids into Upper Egypt. The Mussulmans scarcely attempted to make a stand; and the swiftness and hardihood of their horses enabled them to outstrip their pursuers, and to preserve the remnant of their forces unbroken. At the end of July, however, it began to be rumoured at head-quarters, that Ibrahim Bey, the next of

SALAHIEH.

the Mameluke chiefs in skill and courage to the brave Murad, had collected a multitude of Arabs from the borders of the Desert, and was making head in Syria. Upon this intelligence, Napoleon at once despatched Le Clerc and Regnier to Elkankah; and the news of the rising being speedily confirmed, he followed in person, a day or two afterwards, with the divisions of Lannes and Dugua, to disperse the stormy elements before they should be gathered into a formidable body.

This expedition was little better than a hasty march. Ibrahim did not venture to await the approach of the French; but hurried, by forced marches, towards the Desert, somewhat impeded, however, in his motions by the presence of the women and slaves of his household, by the weight and bulk of his treasure, and the large booty he had seized by the way in a marauding attack upon the caravan of Mecca, which his troops had stopped and plundered at Koureyn. The soldiers of Napoleon, being less encumbered, overtook the Bey a short distance beyond Salahieh, the last inhabited place in Egypt where good water is to be found. The cavalry, not above two or three hundred in number, were a considerable distance in advance of the infantry; the night was gathering; the horses and men were excessively fatigued; and, consequently, the successful issue of an attack by no means certain. While Napoleon hesitated, a party of nearly two hundred Arabs, who had just deserted Ibrahim, offered, for a share of the booty, to join in charging their late comrades. Their services were accepted; and a conflict, remarkable for the valour and determination displayed by the soldiers on each side, ensued. Almost every Frenchman present was engaged in single combat. Colonel La Salle dropped his sabre in the midst of the engagement, and had barely time to recover it and remount, when he was attacked by one of the most intrepid of the Mamelukes. Murat, Duroc, Leturcq, Colbert, Arrighi, and all the officers of the staff, were in the thickest of the fight, and encountered the most imminent danger. Colonel D'Estrée was mortally wounded; and Sulkowsky, aide-de-camp to Napoleon, received several sabre cuts, and two or three bullets, in the action. The victory indeed was exceedingly doubtful; when Ibrahim Bey, being wounded, gave the signal for flight, and left the French in possession of the field, of two pieces of cannon, and about

THE FLEET.

fifty camels, but in no condition to pursue the fugitives. It was immediately after this battle, that Napoleon, returning to Salahieh, was met by an aide-de-camp, sent by Kleber from Alexandria, with news of the loss of the fleet in Aboukir roads: a piece of intelligence which occasioned his immediate return to Cairo.

The details of the battle of the Nile belong to Naval History, and more especially to that of Lord Nelson—a hero scarcely inferior in fame to Napoleon himself. It will be sufficient here, therefore, to state that, through some misunderstanding, arising probably from the difficulty of communication between the separate divisions of the French force, Admiral Brueys had been induced to remain inactive upon the coast of Egypt, unable to enter the harbour of Alexandria, and unwilling to abandon the army, till it became certain that the means of retreat would not be needed. There is no doubt that, judging by the event after its occurrence, it was the duty of the Admiral, as soon as he had disembarked the artillery and army-stores, and ascertained that the fleet could not be got into the harbour, to have put to sea, and either returned to Toulon or made for Corfu—one of the Ionian islands, which France had recently obtained on the partition of Venice. Whatever were the circumstances which occasioned the delay;—whether, as has been contended, it was express orders from Napoleon, under whose command the whole expedition had been placed by the Directory, or against his directions as asserted by others, or more probably still, a want of definite instructions of any kind, and of proper provisions to enable the ships to sail;—the fleet was still in the bay of Aboukir, when, on the 1st of August, the British squadron appeared off the coast.

Brueys had taken what precautions his bad position admitted, by mooring his ships in semicircular line of battle, so close to the shoals and surf, that it was thought impossible for vessels of war to get between them and the land. Nelson, however, on reconnoitring, became instantly convinced, that where the French ships could ride in safety, there must necessarily be room for others to anchor between them and the shore. He accordingly made signals for immediate attack. Brueys meanwhile, it being already late in the afternoon, did not contemplate being molested till next morning, and neglected to get under-weigh, or to clear his vessels as they should have been for

BATTLE OF THE NILE.

action. As the English approached, with an evident determination to force the French line, the consternation of the latter, heightened by the boldness of the manœuvre and by its being unexpected, was extreme. They greeted the British, however, with a heavy raking fire as they bore down: but keeping its bows to the enemy, and wasting no idle shot, Nelson's van, consisting of six seventy-fours, continued its course, and, each successively rounding the French line, dropped anchor beside its chosen opponent, and instantly opened a tremendous fire. The English Admiral himself, with the remainder of his fleet, ranged along the same ships on the outer side, and thus placed those engaged between two fires; while several of the French vessels were deprived for a time of all power to take part in the conflict. The battle raged with the utmost fury till sunset, and was continued during the night by the flashing light of the dreadful and continuous broadsides. Before eleven o'clock several French ships had struck, and the victors had begun to assail those that had not previously been engaged, when the flag-ship of Brueys took fire, and, after blazing awhile like a volcano, blew up about midnight with such a tremendous explosion, that for more than a quarter of an hour the firing on each side was silenced through a sense of overpowering awe. Being resumed, however, the cannonade continued with more or less fury till noon the next day, when two line-of-battle ships, and two frigates, the only French vessels that still had their colours flying, cut their cables and put to sea. The rest were destroyed or captured. Brueys and many French officers of distinction were killed in this engagement—the extent and importance of which may be judged from the expression by which Nelson, who was little prone to magniloquence, sought to convey an idea of his victory, when, in his despatches, he called it “a conquest.”

This defeat cut the sinews of the expedition, and caused it to halt, and eventually to fall to the ground. Unable to receive reinforcements from France, or even to communicate with that country, the Army was now isolated, and compelled to rely solely upon its own resources for success. Napoleon was at first completely borne down by the tidings. The basis of his calculations was destroyed, and the mighty hopes of Oriental dominion, which he had hitherto cherished, were dissipated like a dream. Speedily recovering his

INSTITUTE OF CAIRO.

outward composure, however, he strove to content himself and others with the reflection, that "the Fates had decreed to France a preponderance on land, and to England the empire of the ocean." But though Fate and Fortune were words frequently in his mouth, no reliance on their agency or influence was ever discoverable in his actions. He used, indeed, every means in his power to shape his own destiny, and to render himself independent of those contingencies which men of less energy and forethought are apt, in exculpation of their supineness, to attribute to the special workings of Providence. As soon as he had ascertained the extent of his loss, and discharged the duties of his station and of humanity to the brave men who had fallen at Aboukir, he set earnestly to work to prevent the disastrous consequences which at first were generally apprehended from the fate of the battle. The civil and military organization of Egypt was promptly proceeded with—upon principles calculated to advance the civilization, and conduce to the permanent prosperity of the country. "If we cannot remain here," he said, "we will, like the ancients, at least leave the people a heritage of greatness."

One of his first acts was to establish the Institute, on the model of that at Paris, for the collection and general diffusion of intelligence. It was divided into four classes: mathematics, physical science, political economy, and literature and fine arts. Monge was elected president, and Napoleon vice-president. This learned body, in addition to the *Savans*, numbered among its members many officers of the army; of whom Caffarelli and Sulkowsky were particularly distinguished. Its sittings were held in the great hall of the palace of one of the Mameluke Beys; some of the apartments of which were fitted up as laboratories and a museum, and the rest were converted into habitations for the members. The great garden of the harem was devoted to botanical purposes; and in a spacious room at headquarters, Berthollet exhibited public experiments in chemistry, two or three times a-week. Through the zeal and activity of the French soldiers, all ranks of whom now took an interest in the matter, and were desirous of contributing their utmost to its furtherance, the museum was speedily filled with every kind of curiosity, which the animal, vegetable, or mineral kingdoms of the country could supply. The establishment of the Institute excited the curiosity of the

EGYPTIAN LEARNING.

inhabitants to an almost unprecedented extent. Having learned that the frequent meetings of the simple and unostentatious men that accompanied the army, and to whom so much respectful deference was paid by every one, were not for religious celebrations, and having on one or two occasions witnessed the almost magical transformations produced by the experiments of Berthollet, a belief arose that the members of the Association were alchemists, and that their object was to discover the art of making gold.

The Egyptians themselves were lamentably deficient in all kinds of knowledge. To be able to read and write, and to comprehend the simplest details of arithmetic, conferred on the individual so gifted no unenviable reputation for acquirements. The only branches of history in which the most learned pretended to be skilled, were those which relate to Mahomet, and the Caliphs his successors, in the progress

REFORMS.

and establishment of the doctrines of Islamism. Geography and the other mathematical sciences were mysteries into which it was sought to initiate few; and the smattering which constituted proficiency in the college of Jemil-Azar, the only learned academy in the country, merely served to render the general ignorance more palpable. The astronomical knowledge of the native professors barely sufficed for the compilation of a defective almanac. The history, antiquities, arts, and sciences of ancient Egypt were utterly unknown. The Pyramids were generally believed to be productions of nature; and even the few who were better informed on the subject, when they observed the interest taken in them by the French, were disposed to regard them as monuments erected by some ancient European people, from which the present conquerors of the land were descended. The tools and implements of trade and manufacture were of the rudest and most primitive kind; and yet the native artisans, on being shewn the European inventions, and the French modes of working, exhibited a talent for imitation and a readiness of conception, which at once proved that the fault was in the government and institutions of the country, and not attributable to any want of natural genius or capacity in the people. The chief defect may, indeed, be traced to that dogma of Mahometanism,—the same which influenced the Caliph Omar, when he commanded the destruction of the greatest ornament and most valuable possession of that, and perhaps of any then existing, nation, the magnificent library of Alexandria,—which says, that “all knowledge, beyond that taught in the Koran, is useless or profane.”

Napoleon was desirous of remedying the evils to which this ignorance and a long course of oppression had given rise. Various members of the Institute were appointed to preside over different departments of the civil administration, and to ascertain and turn to account the abundant resources of the country. The geographical limits and peculiarities of the nation were first investigated; roads, bridges, and fortresses were constructed; levels taken, and a plan drawn for a grand canal to open the navigation from the Nile to the Red Sea. Several manufactories were established at Cairo, of a description entirely new to the inhabitants; among others, wind and water-mills for making flour and gunpowder. Improved

REFORMS.

methods of weaving and embroidering the superb carpets of Mecca, and the cloth and shawls of Arabia, were introduced. Founderies were instituted; printing-presses brought into operation; and literary and political journals, both in French and Arabic, were published. The lakes of Meuzaleh, Bourlos, and Natron were carefully surveyed. The natural productions of the country and its capabilities, with reference to soil and climate, were brought under review. Hospitals were founded, wells sunk, public baths and fountains opened. A causeway was constructed, by which communications could be maintained between Cairo and Boulac, during the inundations of the Nile. The streets of the cities were purified from the accumulated filth of years, and scavengers appointed to preserve this cleanliness. Sluices were cut for watering the land; and wind-mills erected to raise water for the same purpose, where other means of irrigation could not be employed. A theatre was built; and even a kind of Tivoli established in the public gardens of Cairo, with musical performances, promenades, illuminations, and fire-works. Nothing that could contribute to elevate the character of the people, impart to them new ideas, or humanize and instruct them, was deemed too high or too arduous to be grappled with by the consummate genius, clear understanding, and unwearied industry of Napoleon; nothing that seemed calculated to conduce to the desired end, was thought too low to be admitted into his list of means for the regeneration of the country.

In order that the religious and national prejudices of the people might not be alarmed by the very extensive reforms in progress, the fact that Egypt had become a French province was carefully concealed from view. The Pacha appointed by the Porte was still permitted to exercise the same nominal authority which had been left in his hands by the Mameluke Beys. The Imauns, or priests; the Ulemats, or lawyers; the Scheiks, or civil and ecclesiastical judges; the Cadis, or magistrates; and the Janissaries, or privileged soldiers, were all treated with respect and attention. Every class of the inhabitants was protected. Justice, tempered with the mercy and impartiality which belong to civilization, was administered according to Mahometan laws. The executive government was conducted, as formerly, by the Grand Divan, the constitution of which was no

MAHOMETANISM.

further interfered with than by the appointment of Monge and Berthollet, to preside over and regulate its proceedings according to the dictates of reason and humanity. The taxes were not increased, as had been feared; but, in consequence of the equitable mode in which they were imposed and levied, were considerably lightened. Obedience to the laws was insisted upon from all persons, without distinction of rank or sect.

The astonishment of the people at such a novel system of administration may be inferred from an incident recorded by Las Cases. Some Arabs, in a marauding excursion on the frontier, had killed a Fellah, or peasant. Napoleon was incensed, and gave instant orders for the pursuit and punishment of the murderers. "Sultan Kebir," said the Scheik El-Mondi, who was present, "you play a dangerous game in quarrelling with these people, who can do you ten times more harm than you can do them. And what is it all about? Was the miserable peasant they have killed your kinsman, that you should seek to avenge him?" "He was more," replied Napoleon: "those whom I govern are my children. Power is given me that I may secure their safety and happiness." All the Scheiks of the divan bowed their heads at these words, and El-Mondi replied, "Good! thou hast spoken like the Prophet himself!"

Still further to conciliate the natives, the General-in-chief paid great deference to the ceremonies and observances enjoined by their laws. On the 18th of August, he was present at the solemnity of opening the canal of Cairo; which, on the rising of the Nile, receives a portion of its waters; and two days afterwards, on the invitation of the Sheik El-Bekri, he attended the celebration of the feast of Mahomet's nativity, when his respect for the Prophet was exhibited by his conforming to the customs of the true believers. The ceremony consisted in the recital of a poetical history of the events of the life of Mahomet. The Scheiks of the city, sitting in a circle on carpets, with their legs crossed, chanted the verses, swinging their bodies backwards and forwards. An excellent dinner was afterwards served on twenty tables, with five or six persons at each. At this dinner nothing was disagreeable to the French guests, except the Mussulman manner of eating with the fingers. In the evening, the whole city of Cairo was illuminated with beautiful lamps of coloured

COMPLAISANCE OF THE SCHEIKS.

glass; and the streets were paraded by parties, of from twenty to a hundred persons each, reciting the prayers and history of the Prophet, with gestures that continued to increase in violence till they became convulsive, when some of the most zealous fainted. It was on this occasion that El-Bekri presented to Napoleon two young Mameluke slaves, Ibrahim and Roustan, who, till they were compulsorily separated from him on the reverses of the "Hundred Days," in 1815, remained faithfully attached to the General, following him through every vicissitude of fortune; indeed Ibrahim, upon learning that he would not be permitted to accompany his master to St. Helena, stabbed himself from grief and despair.

These and other circumstances, among which was his care for the safety of the caravans of pilgrims and merchants which traverse the Deserts from Cairo to the holy cities, or the great marts of eastern commerce, produced so good an effect that, in a synod of Scheiks and Imauns of the Grand Mosque, it was publicly declared to be lawful for

INFIDELITY.

Mussulmans to obey and pay tribute to the Sultan Kebir : a decision without precedent in the annals of Mahometanism, and directly opposed to the doctrines of the Koran, which expressly forbid submission to infidels. It is not quite certain, however, that Napoleon was regarded as entirely an infidel by the Moslem divines. By his conformity with their customs, he had induced many to believe that he was on the eve of becoming a convert to their faith. In his letters and proclamations he boldly asserted a divine mission. "Make the people understand," he said, in a published address to the heads of the clergy, "that before the world was formed it was ordained that, after having destroyed the enemies of Islamism, and shattered the cross, I should come from the distant parts of the West to accomplish the task for which I am destined. In more than twenty passages of the Koran my coming is foretold. I could demand an account from every person for the secret thoughts of his soul ; since to me everything is known : but the day will come when all shall know from whom I have my commission, and that no human effort can prevail against me." This he afterwards admitted was quackery, and nobody can for an instant doubt that it was so : it can hardly, from want of enthusiastic energy, be considered worthy of the eulogium passed upon it by himself, when he called it "quackery of the highest order," and spoke of it as calculated to gratify and delude those whose favour it was his interest to cultivate. That Napoleon, at this time, was but an indifferent Christian is avowed by himself. In his account of Egypt, dictated to General Gourgaud, in allusion to the doctrine of rewards and punishments in a future state, he did not scruple to designate the religion of Jesus as a threat, and that of Mahomet as a promise ; nor to characterize the latter as the successor of Judaism and Christianity, and a blending of both. Conversion to Islamism he regarded as nothing more than a change from a hat and small-clothes to a turban and trousers ; and considered that the subjugation of Asia would amply compensate for the inconvenience. "Henry the Fourth of France," he remarked, "held Paris to be well worth a mass." With respect to his soldiers, an utter indifference to religion pervaded all ranks : Christianity, Judaism, Mahometanism, and Paganism occupied the same place in their esteem ; and they would, without hesitation, have embraced any creed that offered a temporal advantage

INFIDELITY.

to their favourite General or themselves. "We must take care," wrote Bonaparte to Kleber, "lest the Turks conceive the same prejudices against *us* as against the *Christians*;" and in a letter to Menou are the expressions, "I thank you for the honours you have paid to our Prophet." "In India," says De Bourrienne, "Napoleon would have been for Ali, in Thibet for the Dalai Lama, and in China for Confucius." He had been, in short, infected with the infidelity of the revolutionary philosophers; and regarded all religions as the mere institutions of men, and deemed it necessary to respect them only as powerful means of government.

His Moslem demonstrations were matters of jest among the French, who understood them; but the Scheiks of Cairo, with whom he held

CONVERSION OF MENOÜ.

frequent discussions on the subject, were, or pretended to be, in some degree imposed upon, and endeavoured to smooth the difficulties in the way of his conversion, by declaring that abstinence from wine and circumcision were not absolutely essential to the belief of the Koran. They even offered up public prayers for him, and for the success of his arms, in their mosques. There was, however, an insuperable obstacle to his assumption of "the turban and trousers:" Napoleon on embracing Islamism must, to use his own words, "have turned his back upon Europe, upon the regeneration of the age, and the course of Fate in *France!*" General Menou, who had no great undeveloped designs to deter him from pursuing the bent of his inclination, became an actual and earnest convert to the faith of the Prophet, and married a Mahometan lady of Rosetta, whom he treated after the French modes of gallantry; giving her his hand to enter the dining-room, the best place at table, and the choicest *morceaux* at dinner, or if she dropped her handkerchief he ran to pick it up. The lady boasting of these attentions in the bath, where it is the custom of Oriental women to assemble for the purpose of hearing and relating the news and contriving intrigues, almost caused a revolution in the harem. The other women, who enjoyed less consideration and fewer privileges, sent a petition to the Sultan Kebir, requesting him to compel their husbands to treat them in like manner!

Notwithstanding the constant activity and occupation of the Commander-in-chief, after the battle of the Nile time appears to have hung heavy on his hands. He rode much, dictated orders, planned new campaigns for Europe as well as for Asia, read, wrote; but the want of news from Paris created a wearisome void in his mind which nothing could adequately fill. His thoughts, his hopes, his ambition, all centred in France; and his impatience at the interruption of his correspondence, occasioned by the vigilance of the English cruisers, was constantly finding vent. De Bourrienne has represented him as dissipating a portion of his *ennui* in a *liaison* with Madame Fourés, the wife of a lieutenant of infantry, of whom the Duchess d'Abrantes has in her *Memoirs* related several interesting particulars. The part of the story most worth remembering, however, is, that the husband of the lady having, by a *delicate* arrangement, been despatched on a mission to the Directory, was taken prisoner by the English, who

FÊTE OF THE REPUBLIC.

having ascertained the cause of M. Fourés' selection, from the letters of which he was the bearer, instead of detaining him prisoner as usual, maliciously liberated him and sent him back into Egypt.

The 1st Vendémiaire (22nd September) was observed by the French soldiers at all their stations, but with more especial magnificence at Cairo, as the anniversary fête of the foundation of the Republic. In the morning a grand review took place, at which many Turkish officers of distinction were present, and were strongly impressed with the number, discipline, and excellent appointments of the soldiers. As the latter filed past the General-in-chief, he thus addressed them:—"Soldiers! We now celebrate the first day of the seventh year of the Republic. Five years ago, the independence of the French people was threatened: but the capture of Toulon was the presage of ruin to our enemies. A year afterwards, you defeated the Austrians at Dego. In the following year, you were fighting upon the summits of the Alps. Two years ago, you were contending beneath the walls of Mantua, and achieved the celebrated victory of St. George. Last year, you were at the sources of the Drave and the Isonzo, on your return from Germany. Who would then have ventured to predict, that to-day you should be on the banks of the Nile, in the centre of the ancient continent?

"From the Briton, renowned in arts and commerce, to the ferocious Arab of the Desert, you fix the attention of mankind. Your destiny is noble, because you are worthy of your achievements and of the reputation you have acquired. You will die with honour like the brave, whose names I have caused to be inscribed on yonder Pyramids; or you will return to your country, covered with laurels, and exciting the admiration of all nations. During the five months which have elapsed since we quitted Europe, we have been the objects of unceasing solicitude to our countrymen. On this day, forty millions of our fellow-citizens are celebrating the era of representative governments: forty millions of citizens turn their thoughts to us, and exclaim: 'To their toils, to their blood, we are indebted for a general peace, for repose, commercial prosperity, and the blessings of civil liberty.'"

In the evening, Napoleon gave a banquet to upwards of a hundred and fifty French and Mahometan officers. "The Republican flag and

INSURRECTIONARY MOVEMENTS.

Mussulman banner floated on this occasion side by side; the crescent by the cap of liberty; the *Koran* forming a pendant to *The Rights of Man*."

The friendship of the Arabs, meanwhile, was of the hollowest character, and assumed merely to lull their conquerors into a state of negligent security. As the French relaxed in the precautions which they had adopted on first taking possession of Cairo, the natives became bolder, and more designing. Orders had been given to watch the muezzin, or criers of the mosques, that their daily calls to the people might not be converted into means for the diffusion of sentiments dangerous to the army of the Republic. For awhile this had been strictly attended to; but it being observed that nothing save the hours and the customary prayers and hymns were pronounced from the minarets, the vigilance of the soldiery was baffled. By degrees other exhortations than those of religion were uttered, and these eliciting no official notice, were followed by seditious harangues, in which firmans of the Grand Seignior were cited, disavowing all amity with the French, and calling upon the inhabitants to arm and join the Mamelukes in expelling the invaders. A general rising was thus organized, not only in Cairo, but throughout Egypt. Meanwhile, Murad and Ibrahim Bey were not idle. They incited their troops, by the recollection of former defeat and the hope of speedy vengeance; the Bedouins, by the harvest of which they had been deprived in their customary plunder of the caravans of the Desert, and the frontier towns and villages; the Janissaries, by their allegiance to the Porte and their love for the power and privileges which they were no longer permitted to exercise; and, indeed, the peculiar prejudices and feelings of all classes were appealed to, to induce them to make common cause and union against the foreign and treacherous oppressor. At the same time numerous fanatics, of whom some pretended to be divinely inspired, traversed the country, preaching a crusade against the infidels, and denouncing the ban of the Prophet upon all who refused to assist in extirpating the unbelieving dogs that sought to extend their dominion over the faithful. The whole nation, with the exception of the Copts, a Christian remnant of the race which survived the conquests of the first Caliphs, was thus prepared to rise at a concerted signal, and make an effort

INSURRECTIONARY MOVEMENTS.

to redeem the country from what every true believer must have considered a state of degrading servitude.

The last announcement from the minarets was made on the night of the 21st of October; and before morning, the capital teemed with insurrection. General Dupuis, the commandant of the citadel, who had dined with, and been complimented by, several of the inhabitants on the preceding day, was among the first victims of

SULKOWSKY.

popular fury. Napoleon was aroused with intelligence of the outbreak at five in the morning; when throwing himself on horseback, he galloped at the head of about thirty Guides to every post, and by his presence, and the vigorous measures of defence which he directed to be instantly adopted, succeeded in restoring confidence among the alarmed soldiery. He had scarcely returned to headquarters, however, when he learned that a strong party of Bedouins were attempting to force the gates. Sulkowsky, who was present, and who had not yet recovered from the numerous wounds he had received at Salahieh, was directed to repair with fifteen Guides to the point most threatened. He obeyed; and in a few minutes, one of the Guides rushed into the apartment, covered with blood, to announce the death of his brave and talented young leader, and that the fourteen companions who had just departed with him, had been cut to pieces by the Arabs. Napoleon loved Sulkowsky for his many sterling qualities, and was accustomed to call him his noble and courageous Pole, and to speak of him as one who would have been most precious to the man who might undertake to restore to freedom the brave people to which he belonged—the ill-fated Poles, whose rights had been, and continue to be, so grievously outraged by the infamous triple partition of their country, and who have suffered so greatly from the yoke which has long borne them down. Few occurrences could have inspired the General-in-chief with such excessive rage as the intelligence of this massacre. He gave immediate orders to pursue the insurgents with the utmost rigour; “to kill and spare not.” The malcontents, after fighting desperately in the streets and squares, were repulsed at all points, and compelled to seek refuge in the principal mosque; whence, on finding the building surrounded with artillery, they sent an offer of capitulation, which, however, was rejected with scorn. “The hour of clemency,” said Napoleon, “is past. The Arabs commenced; it is for me to make an end.” The doors of the mosque being blown open, the carnage that ensued was frightful. The Sultan Kebir had never till then appeared so terrible in the eyes of the Egyptians. For two whole days the city was under a constant fire from the batteries of Moquahum. On the third day, order was restored. Many prisoners were taken, including twelve of the Scheiks of Cario, members of

FRENCH SEVERITY.

the Grand Divan. These, although they expected death, and were surprised that it was not at once inflicted, were merely secured as hostages: but many others were executed as examples; being tied up in sacks, and thrown at night into the Nile. Among those who thus suffered, De Bourrienne says, were several women; but it may be charitably hoped, since no reason appears for such inhumanity, especially with respect to Mahometan females, who exercise no political influence either in domestic circles or upon society, and since the imputed severity is wholly opposed to the practice and maxims, and repugnant to the nature, of Napoleon, and is besides unsupported by concurrent testimony, that the assertion is grounded on some mistake.

The disquietude of the times, however, rendered terrible displays necessary, in order to overawe and repress the fiery hate of the infuriated Moslems, and to extinguish their growing spirit of revolt. Shortly after the insurrection just mentioned, a tribe of Bedouins surprised and murdered several Frenchmen at a village on the borders of the Desert. Napoleon despatched his aides-de-camp, Crosier and Beauharnais, with a company of Guides, to burn the village, pursue, and cut off the heads of the assassins, and bring these trophies with the survivors of the horde to Cairo. On the morrow, the detachment returned. The women, who were brought in as captives, had experienced sufferings of the most shocking description, and several children had perished, by the way. The melancholy train reached the square of El-Bekir about four o'clock in the afternoon, followed by many asses laden with sacks. These were opened in public, and the bloody heads of the slaughtered Arabs rolled out before the populace, which had assembled in crowds to learn the result of the expedition. The expedient was revolting and terrible; but it was effectual in securing for some months the safety of the small parties which the exigencies of the army required to be sent out, from time to time, in different directions. "The country," says Mr. Lockhart, "appears to have remained more quiet, and probably enjoyed more prosperity, than it had ever done during any period of the same length, since the Saracen government was overthrown by the Ottomans."

From the recent insurrections, one important piece of information was gained; namely, that the Porte had not been deceived by the specious pretexts put forth for the occupation of Egypt; but was

PREPARATIONS FOR NEW CAMPAIGN.

determined to oppose the French with the whole power of the empire. Large sums of money had been sent to the Mameluke chiefs, to enable them to recruit their forces and renew the war. A secret correspondence was maintained with the Scheiks and other civil authorities; and, in order to afford greater security for the renewal of an attempt at a general rising, a diversion was promised, in the speedy disembarkation in Syria of a large army. At the same time the assistance of the English, the victors of the Nile, was vaunted, as a guarantee for the triumphant issue of the approaching struggle. Napoleon regarded the gathering storm with gloomy apprehension. Cut off from all communication with France: "left by the Directory," as he exclaimed in bitterness, "to perish;" surrounded by discontented generals, and men universally languishing for home; his anxiety must have been intense. With a courage and determination, however, which nothing could control, he quietly prepared to anticipate the crisis. The strength of all the defensive posts in the possession of the French was augmented. The sailors who had sought refuge on shore, or been landed by Nelson after the Battle of the Nile, amounting to more than three thousand, were incorporated with the troops. Many recruits were raised from among the Copts, the discontented Fellahs, and the slaves, who were also embodied in the various corps of the army. One brigade, the 21st, consisted almost wholly of native soldiers. Other resources were rendered available. The manufactories which had been established began to yield profitable returns; and the treasury was replenished by the collection, where it was practicable, of the annual tribute imposed on the country in advance. Occasionally, the delinquencies of the wealthy inhabitants were turned to account. One incident, although unproductive in itself, is highly characteristic of the policy pursued, and of the temper of the Egyptians. El-Koraïm, a dignified Scheik of Alexandria, being detected in acting as a spy for the Mamelukes, was condemned to pay a fine of three hundred thousand francs (twelve thousand five hundred pounds), or lose his head. "If I am to die now," replied the devout Moslem, when desired to make his election, "nothing can save me; and by paying the penalty I shall have thrown away my piastres. If I am not to die, wherefore should I give them?" He was executed; and his head being carried through the

MONKS OF MOUNT SINAI.

city, accompanied by a crier, announcing his crime, the example not only intimidated other offenders, whose fatalism was less resolute, but facilitated the collection of the tribute. From these sources, a seasonable supply of three or four millions of francs was obtained.

Meanwhile, the country was diligently explored, and every species of information collected that might enable Napoleon to protect his present acquisitions, or extend his dominion. On Christmas-eve, he set out on a journey to Suez in person, in order to examine the traces of the ancient canal which formerly connected the navigation of the Red Sea with that of the Mediterranean. On this expedition, in addition to the officers of his staff, he was accompanied by Monge and Berthollet. The road through the desolate wilderness which they had to traverse—the same through which the Israelites journeyed when dismissed by Pharaoh from bondage—is indicated only by thickly scattered human bones; the remains of those who, during a series of ages, have perished in crossing the waste, with the caravans, from Syria and Arabia. After visiting the fort of Suez, where vestiges of the old canal communicating with the Nile were discovered, in such a state of preservation as not to require very considerable repairs, and ordering the erection of some fortifications to oppose any troops that might attempt to land from India, Bonaparte and his companions, on the morning of the 28th December, passed the Red Sea, dry-footed, on their way to the celebrated fountains of Moses. The sea at this point is not three miles broad, and at low-water is always fordable. The caravans of Tor and Mount Sinai always cross there; and it is by some supposed to be the spot at which the Hebrews, under the guidance of their lawgiver, effected the miraculous passage recorded in Holy writ. The party passed some hours at the sacred springs, seated on the margin of the most considerable, from which they took the water for their coffee. Here Napoleon received a deputation from the Maronite monks of Mount Sinai; who, on learning of his approach, sent to implore his protection, and to request his confirmation of their ancient privileges. He on this occasion inscribed his name to the same charters which bore the signatures of Mahomet, Ali, Saladin, and Ibrahim.

Before returning they visited a canal, constructed as a reservoir by the Venetians when in possession of the commerce of the East, which

PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA;

with other researches consumed the time, so that night had fallen when they reached the shore. The flowing tide had already risen to a considerable height, and the guide having mistaken his way in the darkness, the passage was attempted at a more than usually dangerous place. The persons in advance at length shouted that their horses were swimming! Napoleon, by one of those simple expedients which only occur to an imperturbable mind, saved the whole party. He bade them form a circle round him, and each to ride out in a separate direction, but to halt when he found his horse swimming. By adopting this advice, and all following him whose horse continued longest on his legs, they were enabled to reach Suez in safety at two in the morning; though so rapidly had the tide advanced, that before they made the land the water was at the chests of the horses. "We thus," said Napoleon, "escaped perishing, precisely in the same manner, and at the same place, as Pharaoh perished. Had we been lost, the coincidence would have furnished all the preachers of Christendom with a splendid text against me."

TIPPOO SAIB.

On his return to Cairo, Bonaparte seemed occupied for a time with a project of invading British India by way of Persia; and negotiations were even entered into with the Shah for supplies and a passage through his dominions. Frequently would the General-in-chief lay for hours, stretched upon the ground, tracing, on the splendid maps he had brought from Paris, the route of an army to the Euphrates. The triumphs of his favourite hero, Alexander, now formed his chief subject of conversation. His own want of means to accomplish the vast designs he had formed, was a source of bitter and unceasing regret. Upon the success of the Syrian expedition, for which everything was now being prepared, the fate of the whole Eastern world was probably hinged. To be prepared for the possibility of reaching India, he despatched, on the 25th of January, 1799, an envoy with the following letter to Tippoo Saib, then at war with the British:—"You will have been already informed of my arrival on the shores of the Red Sea, with an army as invincible as it is innumerable, and animated with a fervent desire to free you from the iron yoke of England. I hasten to acquaint you with my desire to receive, by way of Muscat or Moka, intelligence from yourself respecting the

DJEZZAR PACHA.

political situation in which you stand. I am even desirous that you should send to Suez, or Grand Cairo, some person of ability who enjoys your confidence, with whom I may confer." No answer was returned to this letter, which probably indeed never reached its destination, as, by the succeeding May, the empire of Mysore had become a province of British India.

Before the end of January, information had been received that two Turkish armies, with a large supply of artillery, stores, and skins to carry water, had been collected, one at Rhodes, which was intended to land at Aboukir, and the other in Syria, to advance from the Desert. Achmet-Pacha, surnamed *Djezzar*, or *the Butcher*, had already taken possession of the fortresses of Gaza and El-Arish, the latter of which, being considered as the key of Egypt, he was occupied in repairing. Napoleon saw that, if he remained stationary, he should speedily have to sustain an attack from both armies at once, assisted by an insurrectionary rising in the interior, and probably by a body of Europeans. To avoid being thus hemmed in, with no retreat open to him but the sea, where he had no fleet, and the Desert, which was seventy-five leagues across, and impassable for Europeans in the hot season, he resolved to march upon Syria while it was yet winter, possess himself by a *coup-de-main* of the magazines of the enemy, level the fortifications of Jaffa and Acre, ravage the country, and by ruining its resources, render the passage of an army across the Desert impracticable: having done which, it was his intention to turn upon the army of Rhodes, which might then be disposed of at leisure.

On the 9th of February, he celebrated, with great pomp, the commencement of the Fast of Ramadan, in the ceremonial of which he performed the duties appertaining to the Pacha. The submission of Lower Egypt being secured by the presence of strong garrisons and able commandants in all the cities and fortresses, and that of Upper Egypt, by the vigilance and activity of Desaix—who, in pursuit of the unconquerable Murad Bey, after having explored the magnificent ruins of Thebes, had advanced to the Cataracts of the Nile, a hundred and sixty leagues beyond Cairo;—the army, on the 11th, commenced its march towards Asia. The General-in-chief, during his residence in Egypt, had learned the inestimable value of the dromedary;—the physical capacity of which renders it peculiarly the animal

MARCH TO SYRIA.

of the Desert. It is enabled to journey upwards of twenty leagues a day, for several successive days, without drink, and with scarcely any food, over burning sands, and under the most torrid sun. Several regiments of the French were, therefore, mounted on dromedaries. Napoleon travelled on one himself, and even succeeded in yoking

some to field-pieces, a service for which they had previously been considered wholly unfit. In this march, as in that from Alexandria to Cairo, the troops endured the greatest privations from want of water and intense heat; and the distress was increased by the folly of the soldiers, who, to avoid enduring a temporary inconvenience, risked the infliction of an irremediable one, by piercing the water-skins with their bayonets, to obtain clandestine supplies. Generally, however, they exhibited a better spirit than in the first Egyptian campaign, and frequently diminished by pleasantry the bitterness they had to endure. Napoleon alone looked upon the great Desert with feelings which were free from any mixture of dread or aversion. The immense expanse accorded well with his own boundless ambition, with the lonely and scarcely appreciable grandeur of his soul. He said, that it gave him emotions of delight to contemplate the scene,

BERTHIER.—KLEBER.

which he called "an ocean on terra-firma. It is remarkable," he added, "that *Napoleon*, signifies, in Greek, the 'Lion of the Desert.'"

General Berthier, who was the victim of a romantic passion, and sighed for the endearments of home, had, previously to the departure of the army from Cairo, solicited and obtained permission to return to France. He took a formal leave, and departed for Alexandria, where a vessel had been commissioned to bear him from the shores of Egypt. His love for the General, however, prevailed over his affection for his mistress. When it was thought that he had embarked, he presented himself one day at head-quarters, with tears in his eyes, craving forgiveness for his folly, and declaring his resolution not to dishonour himself, or to separate his destiny from that of his chief. The tenderness, which had for a time unmanned him, was mingled with a species of fanaticism. Within his tent he had a small sanctuary, fitted up and furnished with the luxurious elegance of a tasteful boudoir, which was devoted to the portrait of his *inamorata*, before which he was frequently found upon his knees, and to which he had been known to offer burnt incense. This temple was regularly erected when his tent was pitched, even in the Desert.

Proceeding towards El-Arish, Kleber, the commander of the vanguard, mistook his way, and became involved in the sandy mazes of the wilderness. Napoleon who, with a slender escort, was endeavouring to overtake him, discovered at night-fall that, instead of being in the vicinity of a division of his own army, he was approaching a Mahometan encampment. He was speedily pursued, but escaped, because it being night the enemy suspected that an ambuscade was intended. This adventure occasioned great uneasiness respecting the probable fate of Kleber, and the greater portion of the night was passed in anxious efforts to obtain tidings of him. Some Arabs at length informed the General of the route the detachment had taken; and after a rapid journey of several hours he found it, overwhelmed with despair, and ready to perish with hunger, thirst, and fatigue. Some of the soldiers had become mutinous, and in their frenzy had broken their muskets. The sight of Napoleon revived their hopes, and the intelligence, that a supply of provisions and water was not far in the rear inspired them with new life and energy: "But," he said, "if relief had been delayed, that would not have excused your want

PELUSIUM.

of courage or breach of discipline. Soldiers! learn to die with courage."

Nowwithstanding the expedients to which recourse had been had, in order to secure a constant supply of water during this expedition, the waste committed by the soldiers, the length of the way, and the excessive heat, rendered the resources insufficient, and every one was ready to sink with excess of suffering. A muddy pool, or spring of bitter, brackish water, was a subject of contention with persons of all ranks: the meanest soldier disputing the right of a general to precedence in quenching his thirst or laving his parched brow. It was personal attachment only which could secure greater complaisance, even for the General-in-chief. He himself has related, as "no trifling concession," that, while halting amid the ruins of Pelusium, almost suffocated with heat, some one resigned to him part of an ancient door to shade his head for a few minutes, while a large stone could be so poised as to afford a better shelter. It was in lifting the

stone alluded to, that a superb antique cameo of Augustus was discovered, the head on which bore a strong resemblance to that of Napoleon, and which was consequently presented to him, and afterwards became the property of Josephine.

EL-ARISH.—GAZA.

At Messoudiah, or *the Fortunate*, upon the confines of the Desert, at the foot of a number of hillocks, which retained a portion of the abundant rains of winter, a good supply of water was obtained, on piercing the sand to the depth of five or six inches. "It was amusing," says De Bourrienne, "to see almost every soldier, including the Commander-in-chief, sprawling upon the earth, digging miniature wells with their hands, and exercising a variety of stratagems, to secure the most abundant spring." Occasional patches of vegetation, with trees and fountains, increasing in frequency and verdure as the army approached Syria, now cheered the spirits of the troops. The march was also more pleasant, as it was for some time upon the shore of the Mediterranean, from the cool waters of which they were refreshed, from time to time, with a grateful breeze, and in which they were enabled at morning and evening to bathe.

On the 16th of February, the army arrived before El-Arish, into which the vanguard of Djezzar had retreated on the approach of the French. In the meantime, the cavalry of the Pacha, with a body of infantry, had got to the rear of the troops, and occupied a position about a league off. In a midnight attack, their camp was surrounded by a detachment under General Regnier, and a quantity of arms and baggage, and many prisoners, including several of Ibrahim Bey's Mamelukes, were taken. A heavy cannonade was now directed against the fort; and on the 18th the garrison capitulated. Five hundred Albanian, five hundred Maugrabin, and two hundred Adonian and Caramanian prisoners, with great store of biscuits and rice, were the fruits of this capture. The Maugrabins entered into the French service, and were formed into an auxiliary corps. On the 22nd, the march was resumed; and on the 24th, the troops bivouacked in Asia, near the pillars which mark the separation of that division of the world from Africa. The following day they advanced upon Gaza; and, at ten in the morning, came in sight of three or four thousand of Djezzar's cavalry, drawn up to check the march of the Europeans. The horsemen of Murat, supported by the infantry under Kleber and Lannes, charged the enemy near the height which overlooks Hebron, at the spot whence Sampson is supposed to have carried away the gates of Gaza. The Mussulmans scarcely awaited the charge. Gaza

RAMEH.

was entered on the same day, and supplied a seasonable stock of powder, military stores, shells, biscuit, and six pieces of cannon.

The periodical rains now commenced, being ushered in by dreadful thunder-storms, the first that had been experienced since the army quitted Europe. On the 29th, Napoleon occupied Rameh, the ancient Arimathea, which the enemy had precipitately evacuated, leaving behind a hundred thousand rations of biscuit, a still greater quantity of barley, and fifteen hundred water-skins. The head-quarters here were in a small convent, inhabited by two monks, who shewed the spring at which the Saviour's thirst was quenched, in the flight of his family from Judea to Egypt. Rameh is but six leagues from Jerusalem. Speaking of the mysterious influence exercised over the imagination by the historical associations of these sacred regions, the General-in-chief was asked if he had no desire to visit the holy city. "No!" he replied, "Jerusalem lies not in my line of operations. I court no dealings with mountaineers in their own rugged defiles. On the other side of the mountain I should be assailed by a numerous cavalry; and I am not ambitious of the fate of Crassus."

JAFFA.

On the 4th of March, Jaffa—the Joppa of Scripture—was invested, and defended by batteries of about forty cannon, placed on all points of the walls, from which a brisk and well-sustained fire was poured upon the besiegers. On the 6th, the French having fixed their batteries and mortars, the garrison, consisting of soldiers in various costumes and of all colours, Maugrabins, Albanians, Kurds, Natolians, Caramanians, Damascenes, and blacks from Tekrour, made an unsuccessful sortie: At day-break on the 7th, the Governor of the place was summoned to surrender; but instead of sending a reply, he caused the head of the messenger to be struck off. At seven, the firing commenced; by four in the afternoon, the Adjutant-general's assistant, Neterwood, accompanied by ten carabiniers, and followed by three companies of grenadiers, mounted the breach, and drove the enemy from the walls; and at five, the assailants were masters of the town, which, for twenty-four hours, was devoted to pillage and the licence of war. The carnage was horrible, and indiscriminate; soldiers, inhabitants, women, children, and old men, were massacred without mercy. Napoleon himself had “never seen anything so hideous.”

ALBANIAN PRISONERS.

Unable to endure the scenes of barbarity, which were everywhere presented, he sent his aides-de-camp, Beauharnais and Crosier, to endeavour to appease the fury of the soldiery. These young men learned that a numerous body of the garrison had retreated into a strongly fortified building, or caravanserai, surrounding a court-yard. Hither the officers accordingly proceeded, displaying the scarfs which marked their rank. The refugees, who were chiefly Albanians, or Arnauts, called out from the windows and battlements, that on being assured their lives would be spared they were willing to surrender; but, that if this were refused they would instantly fire into the court, and defend themselves to the last extremity. The young Frenchmen, notwithstanding the rule of war, that the garrison of every place taken by assault shall be put to the sword, considered themselves empowered to accede to the request for mercy, and granted the lives of the supplicants. The number of prisoners thus taken was, according to Napoleon's own statement, twelve hundred; but, according to other authorities, three or four thousand. They were marched out of Jaffa to the French camp in two columns. Napoleon was walking before his tent when they arrived, and seeing the multitude, exclaimed, with great consternation: "What would they have me do with these? I have not provisions to feed them, nor ships to transport them to either France or Egypt. Why am I thus served?" The aides-de-camp, on their arrival, received the strongest reprimand; and when they sought to justify their conduct, on the plea that they were alone, amid numerous enemies, and that their mission had been to restrain the slaughter; "Yes," replied Bonaparte, sternly, "such was my intention with regard to women, children, the aged, and the peaceable inhabitants; but not to armed soldiers. You should have braved death rather than brought these men to me. What would you have me do with them?"

The prisoners, each with his hands bound behind him, were directed to sit down before the tents. Desponding gloom was in every countenance. The rations doled out to them, being deducted from the already scanty stores of the army, were necessarily small. A council, concerning the way in which they should be disposed of, was forthwith held in the General's tent, which, after long deliberation, broke up without forming any resolution. The reports of

DELIBERATIONS.

the generals of division on the following day, were filled with complaints on the insufficiency of provisions and the discontent of the soldiers at seeing their rations distributed among enemies, withdrawn from what was considered the just vengeance of the army. The report of General Bon expressed fears that the troops would revolt. In the evening, the council again assembled, when all the generals of division were summoned. The discussion was long and anxious; and again it was decided to await the chances of another day, in hopes that some circumstance might arise to afford means of saving the lives of the unfortunate captives. In the meantime, every telescope was anxiously turned towards the ocean, wishing—it would be unreasonable to say expecting—that some friendly sail might appear, to which these miserable creatures could be confided. To send them overland to Cairo was impracticable; neither provisions nor an escort for the journey could be spared. To liberate them would have been to reinforce the army of the Pacha, as had been the case with the prisoners taken at El-Arish, and released upon their parole not to serve again for a year. They would have gone at once to St. Jean d'Acre, where Djezzar then was, or have retired to the mountains of Naplous, whence they might have harassed the rear and flanks of the French; and thus the sacrifice of friends' lives would have been the consequence of sparing those of enemies. It is a Mahometan maxim, that faith is not to be kept with an enemy; and that it is a religious and acceptable act, rather than one of perfidy and ingratitude, to occasion, under any circumstances, the death of a "Christian dog." This must always operate to prevent any confidence being placed in the integrity of the followers of the Arabian prophet.

The third day arrived, and no means of safety for the prisoners, compatible with the security of the army, had been discovered. The murmurs within the camp augmented, the provisions grew less, and danger on each side became more imminent. On the 10th of March an order was issued, that the unhappy Albanians should be shot! The same day they were marched to the sea-shore in the centre of a large square battalion commanded by General Bon. The Moslems foresaw their fate; but scorned to use either complaint or entreaty to avert it. They moved towards the scene of slaughter, silent and composed. Some of their officers exhorted them, like faithful servants

MASSACRE.

of the Prophet, to submit without a murmur to the dispensation of the All-powerful, who had written the destiny of every man upon his forehead. On reaching the sand-hills a little to the south-east of Jaffa, they were divided into small bodies, and fired upon with musketry. While the execution, which occupied a considerable time, was going on, several of the wretched men escaped, by plunging into the sea, and swimming to some reefs out of the reach of gun-shot. The French soldiers, whose sufferings seem to have rendered them callous to the miseries of others, and to have created in them an unnatural and savage thirst for blood, laid their muskets on the beach, and made signs of amity and conciliation to their victims, in order to induce them to return. Willing to indulge a last hope, the poor wretches abandoned the rocks and made for the shore; but they had no sooner arrived within range of the muskets, than they became marks for the bullets of the foe, and perished amid the waters.

Such was the Massacre of Jaffa: a proceeding as terrible and remorseless as any in the annals of modern warfare. Napoleon has been his own apologist on the subject; but, being the party most implicated in its horrors, we may be permitted to look with some suspicion upon the assertions he has put forth in his defence. De Bourrienne, his discarded secretary, who in after years became a minister and flatterer of Louis XVIII., and who has recorded the frailties of his former friend and master with the caustic bitterness of disappointed spleen, is a witness against whom little objection can be taken when he seeks to exculpate the man he hates. He has supplied the details of this tragic story, and closes his account as follows:—"All that could be imagined of fearful in that day of blood, would fall short of the reality. I have related the truth—the whole truth. I assisted at all the conferences and deliberations; though, of course, without possessing any deliberative voice; but I must in candour declare, that had I possessed a right of voting, my voice would have been for death. The result of the deliberations and the circumstances of the army would have constrained me to this. War unfortunately offers instances, by no means rare, in which an immutable law, of all times and common to all nations, has decreed that private interests shall succumb to the paramount good

THE PLAGUE.

of the public, and that humanity itself shall be forgotten. It is for posterity to judge whether such was the terrible position of Bonaparte. I have a firm conviction that it was; and this is strengthened by the fact, that the opinion of the members of the council was unanimous upon the subject, and that the order was issued upon their decision. I owe it also to truth to state that Napoleon yielded only at the last extremity, and was perhaps one of those who witnessed the massacre with the deepest sorrow." That the dreadful deed originated in no innate love of cruelty is admitted by Sir Walter Scott, who also acknowledges, while he pronounces the act to be a deep stain on the General's character, that nothing in his history shews the existence of a lust of blood, while there are many things to prove that his disposition was naturally humane. It may be remarked that none of those who have censured Napoleon, have attempted to point out a course by which the fatal catastrophe referred to might have been safely averted.

The prizes taken at Jaffa, consisted of thirty European field-pieces, twenty other cannon, above four hundred thousand rations of biscuit, two thousand quintals of rice, and some stores of soap. At El-Arish, Gaza, and Jaffa, the loss of the French amounted to not more than fifty men killed, and two hundred wounded. It should not be omitted, that all the Egyptians who had been taken at each of the captured towns were liberated and sent home.

It was immediately after the taking of Jaffa, that the plague first began to manifest itself in the army; the seeds of the infection having, it is supposed, been brought from Damietta by the division of Kleber. Napoleon, with a moral courage infinitely superior to the mere physical command of nerve which enables a man to risk a blow in battle, daily visited the hospitals in person, to see that the sick were properly attended, and to inspire them with such confidence as might serve to diminish the power of the disease, as well as to fortify others against fear of its contagious influence. The effect answered his expectations. Many of the patients recovered; and the surgeons, some of whom had deserted the hospital, were shamed into a performance of their duty.

Previously to quitting Jaffa, Napoleon despatched an officer, with a letter to the Pacha of Syria, offering to treat for peace. "Why,"

he said in this, "should I deprive an old man, whom I do not know, of a few years of life? What signify a few leagues more added to the countries I have conquered? Since God has given victory into my hands, I will, like him, be merciful and forgiving, not only to the common people, but towards the great. You, who were the foe of the Mamelukes, have no reason to be my enemy. Your pachalic is separated from Egypt by the provinces of Gaza and Ramleh, and by immense deserts. Become my friend; be the enemy of the Mamelukes and the English, and I will do you as much good as I have done and can do you harm." Djezzar, instead of replying to the overture, caused the head of the messenger to be taken off, and his body sewn up in a sack and cast into the sea. This, indeed, was a favourite mode of execution with Achmet; and it was his lavish indulgence in its practice that had obtained for him the name of *Butcher*. While bathing, the French soldiers frequently discovered mutilated bodies, which the waves had cast upon the shore.

On the 14th, the army, vowing vengeance for the injuries of the Pacha, commenced its march from Jaffa; and on the 18th, arrived before St. Jean d'Acre—a fortress originally made memorable by the prowess of Richard Cœur de Lion, and other heroic chiefs, in the Crusades; and which has been consecrated to fame in our time, by its being the barrier which turned back Napoleon from the pursuit of dominion in the East, to found an empire in the West, as absolute and extensive, and as transient too, as those which first fired his ambition. Commodore Sir Sidney Smith,—who, about the time of Napoleon's embarkation for Egypt, had, by the assistance of an old schoolfellow of Bonaparte, M. Phélippeaux, a French Royalist officer, made his escape from the prison of the Temple at Paris,—was cruising with two English ships of the line before Acre, having his liberator, a man of great talent, on board. To these distinguished allies, the Pacha confided the direction of his ample means of defence. Napoleon opened his trenches on the 20th of March; but it soon appeared that he had miscalculated the effect of the terror of his name, and the facility with which other fortresses had been captured. His battering train, including field-pieces, consisted of but four twelve-pounders, eight howitzers, thirty four-pounders, and one thirty-two

SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

pound carronade; the last having been seized by Major Lambert from the long-boat of one of Sir Sidney Smith's ships. The artillery, provided at first with only two hundred rounds of shot, soon became useless, from the expenditure of this stock. "Sir Sidney Smith, however," says Napoleon, "kindly undertook to supply the deficiency." A few horsemen and waggons, from time to time, made their appearance on the beach, upon which the gun-boats of the commodore approached, and fired; when the soldiers, to whom five *sous* per ball were paid for all they could bring to the camp, immediately ran to pick them up. So accustomed did the men become, during the siege, to this manœuvre, that they would run to the sands in the midst of the cannonade. At other times, the construction of a battery was pretended to be commenced. By these devices, a considerable quantity of twelve and thirty-two pounders was obtained. A long uniform course of success, however, had rendered the French too confident; and all the dispositions for the attack of Acre were disproportioned to the expected result.

The town was defended by a strong, though rudely constructed gothic wall, a remnant of the wars of Palestine, flanked with towers, and encompassed by a broad and deep ditch, with outer works of considerable importance. By the capture of a French flotilla, which had been sent round from Alexandria and Damietta to the foot of Mount Carmel, with heavy cannon, platforms, ammunition, and other requisites for conducting the siege, the resources of Napoleon were kept in so feeble a state, as to justify some of his officers in calling his perseverance on the occasion, "obstinacy;" while the English and Turks were incalculable gainers by the prize.

A breach, supposed to be practicable, was made on the 28th of March, when the staff-officer, Maily, with some grenadiers and sappers, supported by adjutant-general Laugier, and two battalions, hastened to the attack. On reaching the counterscarp, however, it was found that the wall was still too high. Maily, however, placed his scaling ladder, and attempted to mount; upon which some of the defenders, remembering the fate of Jaffa, were seized with terror, and fled to the British ships in the port for shelter. Djezzar himself is said to have been among the first to get on board. The fugitives were rallied by the English, and rejoined those who still manned the walls,

DEATH OF CAFFARELLI.

when Mailly and Laugier being both killed, the French, left without a leader, retreated, with considerable loss. Soon afterwards; the counterscarp was blown up by a new mine sunk for that purpose, but the English and Turks, who stood within the walls, killed all who attempted to enter by the breach thus effected.

On the 9th of April, General Caffarelli, while traversing the works in a stooping posture to avoid the enemy's shot, but with his hand resting on his hip, to balance the defective gait caused by his wooden leg, was struck on his elbow, which extended above the trench, with a ball from an Albanian marksman, many such being placed on the walls, to cut off stragglers. This sturdy and talented veteran survived the wound but eighteen days. Napoleon, who was strongly attached to him, went to see him twice a-day; and so great was his influence over the patient, that, though he was frequently delirious at other times, no sooner was the General-in-chief announced, than he became collected, and was able to converse coherently. A few hours before

BATTLE OF MOUNT TABOR.

his death, he desired to have the preface to Voltaire's "*Essai sur les Mœurs*" read to him; which being done, he fell asleep, and thus tranquilly yielded his last sigh. He died universally regretted, as a brave and kind officer, and a man of extensive acquirements.

During the continuance of this contest, a Mussulman army was being gathered by Ibrahim Bey, among the mountains of Samaria, with the intention of descending to Acre, and acting in concert with Djezzar Pacha in a decisive assault upon the besiegers. Napoleon at once despatched Junot, with a division, to disperse the horde; and following in person, a day or two afterwards, he encountered this new enemy at Nazareth, where the splendid cavalry of the Mameluke chief was, as on all former occasions, literally cut to pieces. Kleber, with another detachment, had advanced to Mount Tabor, and was surrounded and nearly overwhelmed by his opponents, whose numbers were about ten times his amount. He was rescued, however, by Napoleon, who, at noon on the 15th, discovered his division established among some ruins, and disposed so as to form two sides of a triangle, with the enemy in the centre. The corps brought up by the General-in-chief, and which was got into position between the Moslems and their magazines, rendered the triangle complete, so that the fire, which was immediately afterwards commenced, was brought to bear upon the enemy at all points. The Mamelukes fought desperately; but their valour was unavailing against the steady continuous fire and immovable squares of the French. The field was strewn with the dead bodies of turbaned men and noble horses; and few escaped from the field to relate the fate of the expedition. Thus perished another Turkish army, announced by the proclamations of its chiefs; and the reports of the inhabitants, as "outnumbering the stars of heaven and the sands of the sea." The troops by whom it had been destroyed, did not exceed six thousand men.

On returning to Acre, Bonaparte received despatches from Desaix, who was still in Upper Egypt, chasing the indefatigable and unconquerable Murad Bey. Among other information then obtained, was that of the loss of a large and beautiful oriental river vessel, built for the navigation of the Nile, and named *L'Italie*. Morandi, the commandant, after a protracted resistance, being boarded by the Arabs, fired his powder magazine, and was blown with his vessel into the air.

LOSS OF L'ITALIE.

The few who escaped, consisting of part of the band of the 61st demi-brigade and some wounded soldiers, were put to death, with the most horrible tortures, inflicted to the sound of their own instruments, which two or three of the unfortunate musicians were reserved to play; till, all their comrades having been despatched, they

became the latest victims. This sad account struck forcibly upon the General's mind, and excited within him some of those forebodings to which he was occasionally subject. "Italy," he exclaimed in a prophetic tone, "is lost to France! I know it is so: my presentiments never deceive me!"

About the same time, also, news arrived of an insurrection in Lower Egypt, occasioned by a religious fanatic of the Desert of Derne, who pretended to be the angel El-Modi, a deliverer whom the Prophet has promised in the Koran to send to the elect in critical emergencies. He persuaded the people of his tribe and others that he lived without food. The only sustenance he was known to take, was that derived from dipping his fingers daily at the hour of prayer, in a bowl of milk, and passing them over his lips. By his enthusiasm and energy,

EL-MODI.

he soon collected a large number of followers, well armed and supplied with camels. With these he marched to Dumanhour, where he surprised and put to death about sixty men of the French nautical legion, whose muskets, and a four-pounder cannon, materially augmented his means of operation. From the pulpit of the mosque of Dumanhour, he announced his divine mission, declaring himself ball-proof and unconquerable, and that his followers had nothing to fear from the muskets, bayonets, or cannon of their enemies. In Bohahireh he succeeded in enlisting three or four thousand converts, most of whom he armed with pikes and shovels. He exercised those furnished with the latter implement to throw dust against the French, asserting that this blessed dust would frustrate all the efforts of the troops of the Sultan Kebir. After two or three skirmishes, in which El-Modi successfully repelled the attacks of his assailants, it was thought necessary to despatch General Lanusse against this strange antagonist, lest the whole province should be infected with the mania which he had diffused among most of those of his own nation, with whom he had come in immediate contact. The rebel and his invincible troops were speedily defeated. The greater number were dispersed, and fled to their native villages. About fifteen hundred, including the impostor himself, were shot, and Bohahireh was restored to tranquillity. Meanwhile, the Emir Hadji, prince of the Caravan of Mecca, had been tampered with by emissaries of Djezzar; and having, about the time of the battle of Mount Tabor, been informed that the Sultan Kebir was killed before Acre, and his army made prisoners, openly declared war against the French. Lanusse, however, soon succeeded in surrounding his troops, when he put all who were taken with arms in their hands to death, dispersed the remainder, and set fire to the village where the revolt had originated. The Emir, with four of his accomplices, succeeded in escaping through the Desert to Jerusalem.

During these commotions, the siege of Acre was vigorously prosecuted. Admiral Perée had succeeded in landing two mortars, six eighteen-pounders, and a considerable reinforcement of men; so that there now appeared a brighter hope of success than had yet been entertained by the French. Napoleon's anxiety to capture the place, and the importance which he attached to it, seemed to increase with

SIEGE OF ACRE.

the obstacles which he had to encounter. "The fate of the East," he said, as he stood one day with Murat on the mount which still bears the name of Cœur de Lion, "depends on yonder petty town. Behold the Key of Constantinople or of India." And about the same time he is described to have thus unbosomed himself to De Bourrienne: "If we succeed in taking this paltry town, I shall obtain the treasures of the Pacha, and arms for three hundred thousand men. I will then raise and arm the whole population of Syria, already so exasperated by the cruelty of Djezzar, for whose fall all classes daily supplicate Heaven. I shall advance upon Damascus and Aleppo; recruit my army by enlisting all the discontented, and by announcing the abolition of slavery and of the tyrannical government of the Pachas. My armed masses will penetrate to Constantinople, and the Mussulman dominion will be overturned. I shall found in the East a new and mighty empire, which will fix my position with posterity; and, perhaps, when this is accomplished, I may return to Paris, by Adrianople and Vienna, after having annihilated the house of Austria on my way."

On the 25th of April, a mine was sprung beneath a large tower, which, rising like a keep over the other fortifications, had been for some time the main object of attack. Two or three hundred Turks, and a few pieces of cannon, were buried beneath the ruins of the portion of this building that fell; but the French were unable to effect a lodgement beyond the second story. The position was, therefore, soon evacuated, in order that it might be destroyed altogether. About the same time, a considerable breach had been made in the curtain, which promised easy access to the city. The besieged were in a situation of great peril; and they were stricken with such dread and apprehension, that no inducement could make them remain upon the walls. At this critical period, there appeared in the offing a Turkish fleet, bringing large reinforcements to the Pacha. Phélippeaux now formed lines of counter attack, in assailing and defending which the most furious contests took place daily. Sorties were made, with various success; sometimes the besieged, and at others the besiegers, carrying all things before them. Dismay and death were scattered everywhere around. The bodies of the dead choked up the fosse, and by their putridity spread disease among the

SIR S. SMITH'S CHALLENGE.

survivors. On the night of the 7th of May, a desperate assault was made, headed by General Lannes, who fought his way through the breach, and gained the streets in the body of the town. The mere handful that he led, however, was opposed by overwhelming numbers; and, Rambaud being slain and Lannes severely wounded, the French were compelled to retire with dreadful loss—few, indeed, escaping the scimitars of the enemy, who, being incited by the promise of a reward for every infidel head that should be brought to the remorseless Djezzar, gave no quarter. This attempt cost Napoleon upwards of fifteen hundred men.

An affecting proof of the entire devotion of his troops was, at this time, afforded to the General-in-chief. While giving some directions, in the trenches, a shell fell at his feet. Two grenadiers observing his danger rushed to the spot, placed their commander between them, and raising their hands above his head completely shielded every part of his body. The shell exploded, and covered them with sand; but no one was injured. One of these brave fellows, Dumesnil, afterwards became a general, and commanded the fortress of Vincennes, when the Allies entered Paris, in 1814. And yet to such men did Sir Sidney Smith address proclamations, seeking to excite discontent among them, and offering to all who would accept it a safe passage to France. Napoleon, as he well might, declared that the English Commodore had gone mad, which so exasperated that gallant officer, that he challenged his opponent to single combat; a summons calculated only to afford mirth to the person so addressed. A courteous answer was returned, however, declining the Knight's invitation, until he could promise a meeting with Marlborough; but offering, in the mean time, to send a stout grenadier to indulge his personal love of fighting.

The siege had now lasted sixty days. The French had lost nearly three thousand men, either killed in action or dead of the plague, which still raged in the camp. The hospitals were full of sick and wounded. The city was daily receiving reinforcements by sea, and already numbered more than twenty thousand defenders within its walls. Napoleon's ranks were thinned, and he was without hope of succour. On the 20th of May, yielding to stern necessity, he raised the siege, and at night commenced a retreat towards Jaffa. He had

RETREAT TO EGYPT.

now, for the first time since he had commanded an army, been encountered by British courage, skill, and perseverance.

A fearful journey, among scorching sand-hills, lay before the army. The plague patients and the wounded were carried in litters, and on mules and camels. The thirst, the heat, and the necessity of stern endurance, created among all ranks an intense selfishness and unfeeling indifference to the sufferings of others. Soldiers who had lost their limbs, the sick, all who were supposed to be infected, were abandoned in the fields, and by the way side: even those at the point of death would exclaim, as they were thrown upon the earth, "We have not the pestilence; we are only wounded:" and, to convince the passers by, they would tear open old wounds, or inflict new ones. "Their account is made up," would their comrades, on these occasions, exclaim; "their march is over: they have taken up their quarters." Meanwhile, the march was lighted by torches, kindled for the purpose of setting on fire the towns, villages, hamlets, and rich corn-fields, which lay in the route. The whole country was soon in flames, and the bright and burning sun was obscured by the smoke of continual conflagration. It was thus that Napoleon sought to render pursuit impracticable. "An army," he said, "cannot exist in the midst of ruins." It seemed as if the soldiers sought a solace for their own sufferings in the infliction of equal misery on others. All, except the dying, seemed to be transformed into plunderers and incendiaries. The loss among the sick and wounded was frightful. Bonaparte could scarcely endure the sight of the affliction which surrounded him. He gave orders that all should march on foot, and that every horse, mule, and camel should be appropriated to the transport of the sick and wounded. Vigogne, his equerry, was imprudent enough to ask what horse he would reserve for his own use. He replied, with indignant bitterness: "Every soul shall go on foot, scoundrel! I the first—Begone!" Many of the animals so relinquished, however, were speedily restored to their owners.

The army reached Jaffa on the 24th of May, and halted there five days. On the 27th, the fortifications were blown up; and, about an hour after that event, a consultation took place, which has been the subject of strong accusation against the French General. It had been reported, that some of the plague patients in the hospital

THE SICK AT JAFFA.

were so dangerously ill that they could not be removed, without accelerating their death; and that removal could have no other effect than to spread the pestilence among all who approached them. Napoleon, who was unwilling to leave them behind, to undergo the tortures which the Turks were certain to inflict, suggested to the medical men present, that an opiate should be administered, as an act of humanity towards the sufferers. Larrey approved, but Desgenettes

was averse to this proposal. "It is," said the latter, "the business of the physician to cure, and not to kill." A word of disapprobation was sufficient to prevent the execution of the design. To have incurred a breath of reproach at such a time and upon such an occasion would have been folly. When Jaffa was abandoned, therefore, a rearguard, of four or five hundred cavalry, was left to protect the sick from advanced parties of the enemy, with directions to quit the place and follow the route of the army immediately on the death of the last survivor. Napoleon stated the number thus left to have been seven; and

THE TWO MURATS.

Sir Sidney Smith, who entered the town a few hours after it had been evacuated by the French, found *seven* men alive in the hospital. That the poisoning did not, therefore, take place is almost certain; but that the proposal was made, we have the distinct admission of Las Cases. Napoleon afterwards sought to justify himself. "If my own son," he said, "were in a similar situation with those men, I would give the same advice; and if so situated myself, I would insist upon it, if I had sense and strength enough left to demand it. If I had been capable, however, of secretly poisoning my soldiers, as doing a necessary action secretly would have given it the appearance of a crime, my troops would not have fought for me with an enthusiasm and affection without a parallel. I should never have done it a second time: they would have shot me in passing. Even the wounded, had one possessed sufficient strength to pull a trigger, would have despatched me."

The army reached Cairo on the 14th of June, after a painful march of twenty-five days. Excepting the revolts of Emir Hadji, and the fanatic El-Modi, Lower Egypt had remained tranquil, and seemed daily more reconciled to the government of the French. Upper Egypt had been entirely conquered by Desaix,—the "Just Sultan," as the natives called him—and Murad had sought refuge in the Desert. In the beginning of July, rumours of new movements among the Mameluke Beys began to be current. Elphi and Osman assembled a body of troops on the right bank of the Nile, and Murad proceeded to Lake Natron on the left. Against the former La Grange was despatched; who, on the night of the 9th, surrounded their camp, took their families and baggage and a thousand camels, killed Osman Bey and about a hundred Mamelukes, and dispersed the residue. General Murat was sent against Murad Bey, who had descended the Nile and reached Gizeh on his way to Aboukir, where he expected the landing of a large Turkish army. The encounter of "the two Murats," as the French called the opposing chiefs on this occasion, was of short duration. The Mameluke, after losing about fifty of his followers, fled before *Le Beau Sabreur* towards the Desert whence he had come.

On the evening of the 15th, Napoleon received a despatch from Marmont, the commandant of Alexandria, informing him that a

ABOUKIR.

Turkish army, under Mustapha Pacha, numbering sixteen or eighteen thousand men, had disembarked on the 11th at Aboukir, under the protection of an English fleet. He immediately retired to his tent, where he remained till three the next morning, dictating orders for the instant advance of the troops, and for the conduct of those, who, during his absence, were to be left in command of the capital. At four he was on horseback, and the army in full march. Proceeding with almost incredible speed, the advanced guard reached Alexandria on the 24th; and, as there was a probability that English troops would be landed, the General-in-chief at once formed his plan of attack, and resolved to put it in execution on the morrow. The Turks were already in possession of Aboukir, where they had entrenched themselves, and awaited the arrival of Murad Bey and his Mamelukes; but being without cavalry, they were unable to watch the motions of their opponents, and some hopes were at first entertained by the French that the enemy's camp might be surprised. This design, however, was frustrated by an accident. A company of sappers, advancing upon the Turkish lines in the night, were attacked by the outposts, and ten of their number made prisoners, from whom Mustapha learned that Bonaparte was in position near him, and intended to give him battle in the morning. In the meantime, Murad, with his cavalry, had arrived, and reached the camp of his allies. Early in the morning of the 25th, General Lannes prepared to attack the enemy's left, and Destaing the right; while Murat, with his dragoons and a light battery, remained in reserve. The French skirmishers first engaged were driven back; and the Pacha, delighted with this spectacle, called out to Murad Bey, who was near him: "So! these are the terrible French whom you dare not encounter. See; the moment I make my appearance they fly before me!" "Pacha," replied Murad, "render thanks to the Prophet that it has pleased them to retire. If they return, you will disappear before them, like dust before the wind." Murat now advanced, and speedily penetrating through the enemy's centre, cut off the communication between their first and second lines. The confidence of the Turks was instantly destroyed, and they rushed tumultuously towards the rear; their right being driven towards the sea, and their left towards Lake Maadieh. The columns of Lannes

ABOUKIR.

and Destaing, which had advanced to the heights recently quitted by the Moslems, descended at charging pace upon the main body. About ten thousand of the enemy, pursued by the cavalry and infantry, unable to escape, threw themselves into the sea, and, being fired upon with grape-shot from the artillery, were nearly all drowned. Not above thirty men, it is said, were able to reach the ships in the bay. The sea seemed covered with floating turbans.

Lannes was now ordered to draw up his troops in columns; and, under protection of the artillery, to proceed along the lake, turn the entrenchments, and throw himself into the village of Aboukir. Murat was directed to follow with his cavalry, prepared to execute the same manœuvre as in the attack on the first line. Colonel Cretin, who knew every step of the ground, directed the march; and Destaing was directed to make false movements, to occupy the attention of the enemy's right. The entrenchments were soon forced, and Lannes made a lodgement in the village; but Mustapha Pacha, who was in the redoubt behind it, made a hasty sortie with four or five thousand men, and thus separated the French right from their left. This

ABOUKIR.

movement would have been fatal to Lannes; but that Napoleon, who was in the centre, instantly perceived the danger, and advanced to the attack, while the cavalry, by making a detour, got in the rear of the redoubt, and cut off the retreat of the Turks. The engagement now became a massacre. The enemy, unable to regain the fort, fled, and were cut down or bayoneted in all directions. Many rushed into the sea. Mustapha, with his staff and two or three thousand men, endeavoured to establish themselves in the village, but were sur-

NEWS FROM FRANCE.

rounded; and, after a brave resistance, made prisoners. The rest of the Mahometan army perished in the waves or on the field. The Pacha, being brought into the presence of Napoleon, was complimented on his valour. "It has been your fate to lose this day," said the French General; "but I will take care to inform the Sultan of the courage with which you have contested it." The haughty Chief coolly replied: "Thou mayest spare thyself the trouble; my master knows me better than thou."

Bonaparte ascribed the chief honour of this victory to the intrepidity of Murat and his cavalry. Murat was wounded; and Duvivier, Cretin, and Guibert, with about three hundred French soldiers, were killed in the action. Sir Sidney Smith, who had chosen the Turkish position, and directed their arrangements, narrowly escaped being made prisoner. Murad Bey again found safety in the Desert.

Immediately after this battle, Napoleon sent an envoy on board the English Commodore's vessel, respecting the removal of the wounded prisoners, when some courtesies, and a few trifling presents, were exchanged. Among other things, a file of English newspapers to the 10th, and a Frankfort Gazette of the 28th of June, 1799, were sent on shore, and perused with the eagerness which it may well be conceived would animate one who had been without certain news from home for ten months. From these journals Napoleon obtained intelligence of the reverses of the Republican armies in Europe; and that France was a prey to faction and intestine discords, similar to those from which he had rescued her in Fructidor, 1797. "My presentiment has not deceived me," he exclaimed, as he laid down the papers, "Italy is lost. All the fruits of our victories have disappeared. France is endangered, through these fine talkers, these babblers. Now is the time to save her. I must begone." He sent for Berthier, handed him the journals, and said, "Things go ill in France: I must see what is passing there. You, Bourrienne, and Gantheaume, shall go with me." Orders were immediately issued for preparing two frigates, *La Muiron* and *La Carrère*, and two small brigs, *La Revanche* and *La Fortune*, with provisions for four or five hundred men, for two months. The strictest secrecy was enjoined on all, so that neither his own army nor the English cruisers upon the coast should have reason to suspect his design.

PREPARATIONS FOR RETURN.

In order more effectually to conceal his intentions, the General-in-chief gave countenance to a report that he intended to make an expedition into Upper Egypt; and in the mean time he went on an excursion over the Delta, for the purpose, it was alleged, of obtaining information respecting the condition of the country and the people. Monge, Berthollet, and Denon, were now commanded to repair to Alexandria, with the collection of manuscripts, drawings, measurements, and objects of antiquarian and scientific curiosity, made by the

EMBARKATION.

members of the Institute. Marmont, Murat, Lannes, Andreossi, and Bessieres, were also directed to meet, and await further orders, at the same port. Having received information from Gantheaume that the vessels were ready to sail, Napoleon, on the 22nd of August, being on an unfrequented part of the coast, near Alexandria, declared to the Guides and officers of his escort, that they were about to depart for France. The news was hailed with acclamations. Boats were in readiness to receive the party, and they were at once conveyed to the ships in the offing. General Menou was the last person with whom Bonaparte conversed on shore. To him were entrusted the necessary

instructions and despatches respecting the future command and proceedings of the army, and a proclamation to the troops; which was couched in the following terms: "Intelligence from Europe has decided my departure for France. I leave the command of the army to General Kleber. I cannot now make fuller explanations.

DEPARTURE.

It gives me pain to leave soldiers to whom I am most attached : but our separation will be brief; and the General who succeeds me enjoys the full confidence of the government and mine." Monge and the others, who had attended the rendezvous, without knowing the object of their summons, were standing upon the beach, gazing upon the unusual sight of French vessels ready to put to sea, when Menou arrived, and informed them that Napoleon awaited them on board *La Muiron*. The embarkation was completed by starlight; and the vessels would have sailed immediately, but that an English corvette was seen approaching to reconnoitre. At daylight next morning, the 23rd, all sail was crowded, in order to escape the enemy's cruisers, and to get out of sight of the fleet still anchored off Aboukir.

The discontent of the troops, on learning from the proclamation, which was immediately published, that their General had deserted them, was extreme; but, by degrees, this feeling subsided, when the abilities and courage of their new General-in-chief came under review; and Kleber himself, although vexed at having a dangerous and difficult post thrust upon him, while he was as anxious as any to quit Egypt, was at last induced to assume the command.

CHAPTER IX.

VOYAGE—ARRIVAL AT FRÉJUS—GENERAL REJOICINGS—STATE OF FRANCE—
EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE. 1799.

LOOKING anxiously, from time to time, at the receding, but still visible top-masts of the British and Turkish vessels, Napoleon directed Gantheaume to steer as close as possible to the coast of Africa, till the little squadron should be opposite to Sardinia. "Should the English meanwhile present themselves," he said, "I will run ashore upon the sands, march with the handful of brave fellows, and the few pieces of artillery we have with us, to Oran or Tunis, and there find means to re-embark." For twenty days the wind was constantly adverse, and the vessels, after making a little way, were incessantly driven back, towards the Syrian or Alexandrian shore. It was even proposed to re-enter the port whence they sailed; but Bonaparte determined to proceed at all hazards. "We shall arrive safely in France," he exclaimed; "Fortune will not abandon us." During this period of suspense, the General occupied himself in conversing

CORSICA.

with the *Savans*, reading the Bible, the Koran, and Homer, and playing at *vingt-et-un* with the officers of his staff.

In the first three weeks the ships only made a hundred leagues; but at the end of that time a favourable breeze arose, and they were shortly enabled to pass Sardinia; when, on the 1st of October, a violent west wind drove them on the coast of Corsica, and compelled them to seek refuge in the harbour of Ajaccio. Landing in his native town, the now celebrated General was soon overwhelmed with relations. The whole island was in motion; and it seemed as if half the population had discovered traces of kindred with him. He took several walks in the environs of Ajaccio, and felt pleased to point out to his suite the small domains of his ancestors, and the scenes of early pleasures. The numberless visits and solicitations, however, to which he was subjected, and the news which here first reached him of the recent death of Joubert, and the loss of the battle of Novi, made him exceedingly impatient of delay. On the 7th of October, he resumed his voyage; but at sunset on the 8th, an English squadron was descried off the French coast. Gantheaume, who saw from the enemy's signals that he was observed, proposed to tack about and return to Corsica. "To do so," replied Napoleon, "would be to take the road to England. I am seeking that to France. Set all sail; let every one be at his post; and steer to the north-west.—Onwards!"

LANDING AT FRÉJUS.

The French vessels, being of Venetian build, were probably thought to be Italian store-ships, and owed their safety to the mistake. The night, however, was one of terror to all, except Napoleon, who was occupied in giving orders and making preparations for whatever dangers the morning might reveal. He determined, if necessary, to commit himself to the long-boat, named those whom he desired to accompany him, and selected the papers he wished to have saved. Fortunately, the first beams of the sun displayed the hostile fleet bearing to the north-east; and, about eight o'clock the same morning, the French vessels entered the bay of Fréjus.

At first there was some hesitation whether or not to advance, as *La Muiron* and her companions were unable to reply to the signals from the batteries, which had been changed since their departure from France; and they were consequently fired upon; but Napoleon, who would brook no unnecessary delay, ordered the Admiral to enter the port. This confidence, added to a hope that the squadron was from the East, soon brought numerous boats from the shore to make enquiries; and no sooner was it known that General Bonaparte was in one of the frigates, than, despite the laws of quarantine, which forbade all communication with the land, the sea was covered with boats containing persons of all classes, civil and military, hastening on board to congratulate the Conqueror of Italy, and welcome him as the deliverer and guardian angel of the Republic. In vain were visitors reminded of the danger they incurred, and requested to keep off: every deck was speedily crowded with men and women, exclaiming with exulting shouts, "We prefer the plague to the Austrians." The presence of Napoleon was regarded by all as a certain pledge of returning Victory; and the news of the destruction of the Turks at Aboukir, which was speedily promulgated, greatly increased the universal enthusiasm. He was almost forced on shore by the authorities of the town, who refused to listen to anything concerning the quarantine regulations. Even the wounded soldiers quitted the hospital, and went to meet him upon the beach. The intelligence spread with inconceivable rapidity; and throughout the country, his return was hailed as that of a victorious prince, on whose talents depended the welfare of a great but broken-spirited people, who had no hope nor confidence in any but him. The bells were everywhere

PUBLIC REJOICINGS.

rung, illuminations and public rejoicings were made; and the messenger who carried news of the disembarkation to Paris, was received as if he bore tidings of a great national triumph. It was, indeed, a period of delirium. Every one perceived the advent of redemption, after a long and stormy night of almost hopeless gloom. At six o'clock on the evening of his landing he set out, accompanied by Berthier, for Paris, and alighted, without being known, at his house in the *Rue de la Victoire* on the 16th of October; having, by taking the route of the Bourbonnais, missed Josephine and his brother Joseph, who had posted through Burgundy to meet him. Two hours after his arrival he went to the Luxembourg, and being recognised by the soldiers on guard, his visit was announced to the trembling Directory by the shouts of gladness with which he was welcomed. The interview that followed was one of constraint and dissimulation on both sides. The Directors asked no questions, but affected to partake the popular joy at his return: while Napoleon, by their silence as to the cause of his return from the East without his army, felt relieved from some just apprehensions.

The state of affairs in France had been materially changed during Bonaparte's absence. Immediately before his departure to Egypt, Switzerland had been assailed by the troops of the Republic, on the pretext that Berne was made a rendezvous for the agents of the Bourbons and the spies of foreign powers. The fortresses, magazines, and treasures of the Cantons had been unscrupulously seized, the govern-

RETROSPECT.

ment of the country forcibly changed, and a commonwealth proclaimed, under the designation of the "Helvetian Republic." Shortly afterwards, Turin and all the continental dominions of the King of Sardinia had been occupied, and the Sovereign himself, with his family, driven to his Island territories. The Papal Court instigated, perhaps, by Austria, had remodelled its army, and placed Provera, of whom mention has been made in Napoleon's Italian campaign, at its head. The authorities had also excited a tumult in Rome against the partisans of Republicanism, in which Joseph Bonaparte, the French ambassador, was grossly insulted, and a young officer, of great promise—General Duphot—killed by his side. The temporal reign of the Pontiff was consequently declared to be terminated, and his states received the name of the "Roman Republic." Austria, gathering hope from the departure of Napoleon, had suddenly ordered the French plenipotentiaries to quit Rastadt, where negotiations for peace had been proceeding; and a few hours afterwards, the dismissed envoys, despite the guaranteed inviolability of their character, and in contravention of the law of nations and of public faith and honour, were murdered on their homeward journey, by ruffians wearing the Austrian uniform. The King of Naples, encouraged by the news brought to his capital by Nelson of the destruction of the French fleet at the Nile, and the probable ruin of Bonaparte, concluded that the time was favourable, and at once declared war against the enemy which he had so greatly hated and feared. The result, however, proved that his haste to forestal the measures of the newly-formed coalition of Sovereigns was ill-advised. His troops advancing upon Rome, were encountered by the French, and after the first round of shot fled in dismay, abandoning their cannon, baggage, and all, even their small arms, that could impede their retreat. "The Neapolitan officers," said Nelson, who was then a distinguished favourite with the King and Queen of the Two Sicilies, "did not lose much honour; for God knows they had little to lose: but what they had they lost." The victors pressed forward upon Naples, which, after a brave resistance, sustained for two days by the half-naked, imperfectly armed, and unofficered Lazzaroni, against the regular forces and well supplied artillery of the French, surrendered, and the Royal Family abandoned their capital, and passed over into Sicily. France thus

STATE OF FRANCE.

obtained a new ally, under the classical name of "The Parthenopean Republic."

During these transactions, the confederated Monarchs, aided by the great and warlike empire of Russia, had collected immense armies, arranged their plans, and prepared resources for a fierce war against their all-grasping, and hitherto successful, foe. The combined forces of Austria and Russia entered Italy, under the command of Suwarrow, a General in whom great military skill was blended with a degree of eccentricity and enthusiasm which rendered him for a time the wonder of Europe. In a rapid series of battles, ending with that of Novi, all the States which had been conquered by Bonaparte, and those since acquired, were overrun and wrested from the French; and preparations were in progress for carrying the war into the territories of the Republic. The Archduke Charles, released from the terror of Napoleon's superior genius, proved more than equal to Jourdan, whom he compelled to recross the Rhine; while a third body of Austro-Russians advanced to the frontiers of Switzerland, ready to take possession of that country, and thence find a passage into the heart of France. At the same time, partial insurrections had taken place in Belgium. Holland was generally disaffected, and only waited an opportunity to free itself from the Conqueror's yoke. The United States of America had exposed the avaricious baseness of the French Government, by publishing the history of a pending treaty, wherein bribes were demanded as a preliminary to all negotiation, and the chief of which provisions went to put money into the pockets of the Directors. To increase the difficulties of the Republic, the Chouans, or Royalist bands of Bretagne, had again arisen, and were organising themselves to light the flames of civil warfare throughout the country. Every province, in short, was a prey to anarchy, and to the peculations of the constituted authorities. The nation was menaced with foreign invasion, and groaning under a load of tyrannical laws; the government denounced by the whole people, as destitute of power, justice, and morality; the highways were infested with robbers; disorganization was everywhere perceptible, and social dissolution, or the restoration of the Bourbons, seemed inevitable. A change was ardently desired by all classes; and all were looking for a man possessing the public confidence, and capable

THE DIRECTORY.

of restoring tranquillity and order by concentrating the supreme power, and giving scope for the developement of those institutions, hitherto free in name only, which France had purchased at such enormous sacrifices, when Napoleon, "the hero," as he was at once called, "of liberal principles," landed at Fréjus.

The enthusiastic reception he had experienced, the condition of France, the position of parties, and the tendency of passing events, conspired to impress him with the necessity of speedily attempting to carry out the revolution, which he had meditated on his return from Italy; but for which the time was not then arrived. To deliver his chosen country from the domination of the factions by which she was torn and distracted; to surround her with a glory which none but the great nations of antiquity had known; and to establish her as the marvel of modern times, with himself at her head, was the great and worthy object of his ambition.

The Directory now consisted of Barras, the only old member; Roger Ducos, a man of narrow mind but easy disposition; Moulins, a general of division, who had never served in war, but who was a worthy and patriotic man; Gohier, an eminent lawyer, of great integrity and candour; and Sieyès, a metaphysician, formerly a priest, and since author of several constitutions, and of a celebrated pamphlet, entitled "What is the Third Estate?" Sieyès was a cool, shrewd calculator, of great moral courage and considerable political resources; but his knowledge of business and of men was defective, and served only to lead him astray in matters of speculation and system. Sieyès and Ducos were at the head of the moderate party, who sought to effect a gentle and salutary change in the Constitution of the year Three. Moulins and Gohier desired to maintain the existing form of Government, imparting to it a stronger infusion of democratic principles: while Barras, who saw that the Republic was on the eve of dissolution, sought to acquire personal influence, in order that he might bargain for himself with the Bourbons, to whom he had already made overtures for a Restoration.

The appearance of Napoleon, at this important crisis, somewhat disconcerted the plans of all parties. All, however, hastened to pay court to him, as the destined arbiter of the Nation's fate; and tendered their support to effect the kind of change which they

CAUTION OF NAPOLEON.

severally desired. He was not long in choosing his course; but it was necessary, before he declared his intentions, to fathom the men who were to be selected as subordinate actors in the approaching drama. In the whole of these delicate proceedings, he acted with the greatest circumspection. He seemed, as during his residence in Paris, previously to the Egyptian expedition, to shun the popularity which everywhere greeted his appearance. In public, he was invariably dressed in the costume of the Institute. At his own house, his guests were men of science and literature, a few of the Generals who had served under him in Italy, those who accompanied him from Egypt, and two or three private friends, men of no political party. At the theatre, which he seldom attended, he always shrouded himself from observation in a private box. He accepted, however, a public entertainment from the Directory, at which he proposed as a toast, "The Union of all Parties,"—words proved in the sequel to be of considerable import, though then but little understood. From this splendid banquet, where seven hundred persons, among whom was Moreau, were present to honour the Conqueror of Egypt, Bonaparte withdrew at so early an hour in the evening as to give offence to some of his entertainers. With his military friends and admirers, he used the same reserve as with others. He held no levees, attended no reviews. The Officers of the garrison and the Adjutants of the National Guard of Paris desired to be presented to him; but he put them off from day to day: the eighth and ninth regiments of dragoons, which had formed part of the Army of Italy, and the twenty-first light horse, which had contributed essentially to the success of the 13th Vendémiaire against the Sections, besought him to review them; he acceded, but neglected to name a day. The citizens of Paris complained loudly of the General for keeping so close. Hoping to see him, they went to the theatres and reviews; but Napoleon was not there. People were astonished at his reserve, for which they were wholly unable to account. "It is now," they said, "more than a fortnight since his arrival, and as yet he has done nothing. Does he mean to neglect the public interest, and leave the Republic to be torn piecemeal by contending factions, as he did on his return from Italy?"

It has been remarked, however, that "when recognised by the

populace, he received their salutations with great courtesy and affability; and that if he met an old soldier of the Army of Italy, he rarely failed to recollect the man, and take him by the hand." In all this there was the subtile policy of one who deemed it necessary, and well knew how, to interest the public, and rivet their attention beyond the passing moment. But the decisive hour approached—"the pear was nearly ripe."

On the 8th of Brumaire (30th of October), Napoleon dined with Barras, and a few other persons. The Director endeavoured to sound the General as to his views, and proposed that a President of the Republic should be named. This conversation, which shewed that, if he would be before-hand with others, there was no time to lose, decided Bonaparte; who immediately afterwards called on Sieyès, and stated that he was determined to act with him. It was then settled, that the movement should be made between the 15th and 20th of Brumaire. On the following morning, Barras, having heard in the meantime that Napoleon had spoken of his suggestion, called on the General, expressed a fear that he had been imperfectly understood on the preceding evening, declared his conviction that Napoleon alone could save the Republic, and entreated him, if he had any project in agitation, to rely entirely on his cordial concurrence. Bonaparte, however, who knew the unprincipled character and profligacy of Barras, replied that he had nothing in view, that he was fatigued, indisposed; that, in fact, he was not yet seasoned to the change from the dry climate of Arabia to the moist atmosphere of Paris; and that at present he should seek to recruit his health and spirits in retirement.

From that time, Napoleon laboured incessantly to secure the success of his project. Few were admitted to his confidence; none but those necessary to carry out his designs. The rest he knew would follow their chiefs, and, like machines, act from the impulse imparted to them. Talleyrand, Rœderer, Real, Regnault St. Jean d'Angely, men of known talent and influence; his brothers Lucien, president of the Council of Five Hundred, and Joseph, who was held in great esteem for his urbanity and readiness to do good offices for the adherents of the ancient regime, and who, had he not been a Bonaparte, would probably have incurred the suspicion of being an aristocrat; with

Sieyès and Ducos, were the General's chief advisers. None, perhaps, knew fully what was intended; but all were prepared for and counselled an entire change of the existing government. The partisans upon whose devotion Bonaparte relied for executing what measures he might conceive necessary, were the officers and soldiers of the Armies of Italy and Egypt. Moreau, of whom he had at first entertained some fear, hearing a vague rumour that a change was about to be effected through the agency of Napoleon, called on him and tendered his services. General Macdonald, who had recently acquired a considerable reputation by his masterly retreat through Italy, did the same. Fouché, then Minister of Police, having penetrated the secret, though not consulted, rendered essential assistance by negotiating with the heads of departments. Joseph Bonaparte endeavoured to bring over Bernadotte, his brother-in-law; but the latter had formed an opinion of his own importance, that was incompatible with the secondary part offered him. He was jealous of the reputation of Napoleon, and anxious, as he could not emulate his fame, to lower that fame to the level of his own. The future King of Sweden, therefore, asserted a stern and inflexible love for republicanism, and spoke of defending the State from "enemies without and enemies within:" and having been partially trusted as to what was going forward, "he hawked about," says De Bourrienne, "the offer of his services to all those in the government, who were, like himself, opposed to the apprehended change." The government, however, was perplexed with the imminence of its manifest peril, and knew not with which party the greatest danger lay.

On the 15th of Brumaire, Napoleon and Sieyès had an interview, at which it was resolved to strike the decisive blow on the 18th. It was then agreed, that the Council of Ancients, availing itself of the 102nd article of the Constitution, should decree the removal of the Legislative body to St. Cloud, and should appoint Napoleon Commander-in-chief of its own Guard, of the troops of the military division of Paris, and of the National Guard. This decree was to be passed at seven in the morning; at eight, Napoleon was to go to the Tuileries, where the troops would be assembled, and there assume the command of the capital.

On the 17th, Cambacérès and Lebrun, to whom overtures had been

EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE.

previously made, signified their adherence to Napoleon. The same evening, the Officers of the garrison and Adjutants of the National Guard, who had desired introductions to the General, were separately invited to be at his residence in the *Rue de la Victoire* by six o'clock the next morning: the three regiments of cavalry were informed that he would review them at the same hour in the Champs Elysées. Moreau, Macdonald, Le Febvre (Commandant of the Guard of the Legislative body), the Generals of Italy and Egypt, the Officers of Napoleon's Staff, and all who were known to be attached to him were requested to be in attendance at the same time, on horseback. So well were these invitations managed, that each officer believed himself to be the sole guest, and that he was summoned to receive orders, previous to Bonaparte's departure on a feigned journey—a surmise supported by the fact, that Dubois Crance, Minister at War, was known to consult Napoleon, and to adopt his advice on all military matters.

Everything occurred as had been arranged. At seven in the morning of the 18th, the Council of Ancients assembled in the Tuileries, under the presidency of Le Mercier. A report was circulated, that a formidable conspiracy of the Jacobins to overthrow the Directory and restore the *Reign of Terror* had just been detected. Cornudet, Lebrun, and Fargues, who had been successfully tampered with by Lucien, depicted in glowing speeches the horrors to be feared for the Republic. Regnier proposed the removal of the sittings of the Legislative body to St. Cloud, and that Bonaparte should be invested with the command of the troops. "The nation," said this orator, "is threatened by anarchists and foreigners. Prompt measures must be used for the public safety. We are certain of the support of General Bonaparte. Under the shelter of his protecting arm, the Councils may discuss the changes which the public interests require." After a violent opposition, the decree was passed.

Meanwhile, the dragoons to be reviewed had repaired to the Champs Elysées, and the military officers, in full uniform, with six or eight civilians, who had been invited, assembled at Napoleon's house in such numbers, that the house, the court in front, and even the entrance-yard, were too small to contain them. Bernadotte had been brought by Joseph Bonaparte; but, unlike the others, he was not in

BERNADOTTE.

uniform, nor on horseback. Napoleon observed, and asked the reason of this. "I am thus every morning when not on duty," said Bernadotte. "You shall be on duty in a moment," replied Napoleon. "I have heard nothing to that effect," rejoined the former: "and if so, my instructions should have been sent me sooner." Bonaparte

drew him aside and informed him of all that was intended. "Your Directory," said he, "is detested; your Constitution grown stale. It has become necessary to make a clean house, and to give another direction to the government. Go, then, put on your uniform. I cannot now wait longer; but you will find me at the Tuileries, in the midst of our comrades. Bernadotte," he added significantly, "you need not rely upon Moreau and Beurnonville, nor upon any of the Generals of your party. When you know men better, you will find that they promise much and perform little. Trust them not."—"I will take no part," replied Bernadotte angrily, "in what I cannot but consider a rebellion." Napoleon had no time to waste in discussing the matter; he therefore merely added a request that Bernadotte would do nothing against him. "As a citizen," replied the latter, "I shall remain quiet: but should the Directory give me orders, I will act against all perturbators."

At half-past eight, a state-messenger brought to Napoleon's house

MILITARY PRECAUTIONS.

the decree of the Council of Ancients. The General read this to the officers assembled; and, intimating that the salvation of France depended upon them, desired all who were willing to support him to follow him. A majority of the visitors immediately drew their swords, and vowed fidelity to Napoleon and the Republic. All, with the exception of Bernadotte and one or two others, were soon on horseback, and on their way to the Tuileries, followed by fifteen hundred horsemen, who had been drawn up at an early hour on the Boulevard near the *Rue Mont Blanc*, to escort Bonaparte to the Champs Elysées. The adjutants of the National Guard were desired to return to their quarters, beat the *générale*, make known the decree they had just heard, and announce that no orders were to be obeyed, but such as should emanate from Napoleon.

On reaching the hall of the Council of Ancients, the General and his staff were conducted to the bar. "You," said Napoleon, "are the wisdom of the nation. It belongs to you at this crisis to concert measures of salvation for the country. I come, surrounded by the generals of the Republic, to promise you our support. I appoint General Le Febvre my lieutenant. I will faithfully fulfil the task with which you have entrusted me. Let us not look into the past for precedents. The close of the eighteenth century has no parallel in history: nothing in the eighteenth century resembled this moment." The troops which he had promised to review were mustered in front of the Tuileries. On leaving the Council he was received with deafening acclamations, by the vast assemblage which had been collected, partly from curiosity to learn what was passing, and partly to see the celebrated General, whose name was ringing throughout Europe and the East. After the review, the decree of the Ancients was read to the soldiers, and Napoleon briefly addressed them on the duties which they were called upon to perform. He then apportioned the command of the troops. To Lannes was given the command of those entrusted with the protection of the Legislative body; to Murat, of those intended to be sent to St. Cloud; and to Moreau, of the guard of the Luxembourg, with directions to permit no interference on the part of the Directors. The soldiers, placed under the orders of the latter, being devoted adherents of Napoleon, at first refused to obey a general whose patriotism, on account of his

PROCLAMATION.

concealing the correspondence of Pichegru, had become suspected. It was necessary for Bonaparte himself to assure them, that Moreau would act with honour and fidelity, before they would march with him.

In the meantime, a proclamation, which had been prepared beforehand, was read in all the streets of Paris, being everywhere announced by beat of drum. "Citizens!" ran this document, "the Council of Ancients, the depository of the national wisdom, has just pronounced

a decree imposing upon General Bonaparte the duty of taking measures for the safety of the national representation. In conformity with the act of the Constitution, the Legislative body is removed, in order that it may deliberate in security, and devise means to rescue the Republic from the disorganization to which the imbecility and treachery of every department of government is tending. At this important crisis, union and confidence are required. Rally round the standard of the Republic; there is no other method of fixing the government upon the basis of civil liberty, victory, peace, and happiness."

INDECISION OF BARRAS.

An aide-de-camp was now despatched to the Luxembourg, to communicate the decree to the Directory. Gohier and Moulins were in the public hall of audience; Barras, who had sent his secretary to remonstrate with Napoleon on the detention of himself and his colleagues, refused to appear, till he should receive an answer; Sieyès and Ducos were at the Tuileries, whither they had accompanied the military officers in the morning. It being necessary that three Directors should be present at all deliberations, the indecision of Barras prevented any step being taken to save the existing Constitution. Moulins, indeed, proposed to send a battalion to surround the house of Napoleon, and arrest him as a conspirator; and Bernadotte, who arrived while this proposal was in discussion, requested to be nominated as Bonaparte's colleague in command of the capital; offering to lead troops upon which he could rely, to prevent the execution of any design against the liberties of the Republic; and, if necessary, to enforce a sentence of outlawry against Napoleon.

It was soon ascertained, however, that the soldiers would obey no orders but those of the man they were desired to oppose: even the guards of the Luxembourg laughed at the orders of their recent masters. Boutot, Barras's envoy, received at the Tuileries a scornful reply to the message which he brought. "What!" said Napoleon, assuming the tone of a Dictator to whom all other authorities had become accountable for their conduct, and with an eloquence that astonished all who heard him: "What have you done with that fair France, which I left you so prosperous? Instead of peace, I find war; instead of victory, defeat. The wealth of Italy has been exchanged for taxation and misery. Where are the hundred thousand Frenchmen whom I knew—all of them my companions in glory? They are dead; while we, who have preserved the State by our efforts and our courage, are accounted enemies of the Republic. The age has produced no better patriots than the brave men who have shed their blood in defence of the nation." On receiving this answer, with a report of Napoleon's proceedings, Barras was overwhelmed with dismay. He dreaded impeachment for his flagrant peculations; and to avert it, and conciliate the victor, he at once sent in his resignation, stating, "That he had undertaken the burdens of office solely from zeal for the good of the Republic, and to serve the cause of liberty; and that now,

RESIGNATION OF THE DIRECTORS.

seeing the destinies of the nation in the hands of her young and invincible General, he gladly resigned his authority." Moulin and Gohier followed his example: Sieyès and Ducos had previously resigned. The Directory was thus dissolved, and Napoleon invested with the sole executive power of the Republic. The Constitution had been abandoned to its fate, from a too profound respect to its formalities, which required the presence of three Directors to give validity to an act of government. In a somewhat similar way, a king of Castile who had fallen into the fire was suffered to perish, because there was no one present of the rank permitted by etiquette to touch the royal person. Cambacérès, Fouché, and the other ministers, hastened to the Tuileries, to congratulate, and offer their services to the new authority. Jourdan and Augereau did the same, but were requested to remain quiet, and not risk any act that might obliterate the memory of their former services. Napoleon doubted their attachment to his person: Augereau, who saw that he did so, requested his confidence. "What, General!" he said, "can you not rely on your little Augereau?"

The Council of Five Hundred, of which Lucien was president, was unable to meet before ten o'clock, when, to the surprise and indignation of most of the members, they received a message from the Council of Ancients, with a decree for the removal of the Legislature to St. Cloud, and forbidding any deliberation until such removal should be effected. It was useless to contest the point. The law was explicit, and the decree consistent with the privilege of the Council; while the commotion which reigned throughout Paris, shewed the absolute necessity of submission. The meeting was, therefore, adjourned till the next morning, with an express determination from the majority, however, to maintain the existing Constitution. The remainder of the day was passed by Napoleon at the Tuileries. The troops were kept under arms. The populace thronged the streets, talking over the occurrences of the day, or anxiously endeavouring to divine the probable result of the morrow. Fouché, whom the general ferment rendered apprehensive of danger, gave directions for closing the barriers, and preventing the departure of couriers and coaches. Napoleon, on being informed of these orders, immediately countermanded them. "Wherefore these precautions?" he asked. "We act

REMOVAL TO ST. CLOUD.

on the opinions of the people, and by their strength alone. Let no citizen be interrupted, and let every publicity be given to our proceedings."

The majority of the Council of Five Hundred, the minority of the Ancients, and the Jacobin leaders, passed the night of the 18th in earnest consultation; as did also the partisans of Napoleon. At the meeting of the latter, Sieyès proposed that forty of the chiefs of the opposition should be arrested; but to this Napoleon would not consent. "In the morning," said he, "I swore to protect the national representation; I will not now violate my oath." It was, however, agreed that the government should be vested in three provisional Consuls, Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Ducos, and that the two Councils should be adjourned for three months. General Murat then proceeded to St. Cloud; Pansard was appointed to the command of the Legislative Guard; and Serrurier was stationed with a reserve force at Point-du-Jour.

COUNCIL OF FIVE HUNDRED.

In the morning of the 19th, the Deputies met at St. Cloud—the Council of Five Hundred in the Orangery, and the Ancients in the Gallery of Mars. Napoleon, Sieyès, Ducos, and the officers who attended them, took possession of the apartments afterwards known as the Saloon of Princes, and the Emperor's Cabinet. As soon as the sittings opened, which they did to music sounding the Marseillais, Emile Gaudin ascended the tribune of the Council of Five Hundred, and, after describing in an animated speech the dangers of the country, proposed the thanks of the Assembly to the Council of Ancients, for the measures of public safety which it had taken; and that a committee of seven persons should be immediately appointed to make a report upon the state of the Republic. A violent tumult succeeded this motion. Loud cries of disapprobation echoed from all parts of the hall. Several members rushed together to the tribune, anxious to speak; and, in the confusion, Gaudin was hurled to the floor. Lucien, the President of the Council, and his friends, were greatly alarmed, not only for the success of their measure, but for their personal safety. As soon as a hearing could be obtained, Delbred proposed, that the members should renew the oath of fidelity to the Constitution of the year Three. Upon this, the Chamber at once proceeded to the *Appel Nominal*: a mode of voting in which each declared his opinion as his name was called by the Secretary.

During the *Appel*, which occupied more than two hours, numbers of persons arrived from the capital, among whom were Jourdan and Augereau. The latter, seeing the ferment which pervaded the Council, drew near to Napoleon, and said, "Well! your situation here is an unpleasant one."—"Remember Arcola!" replied Bonaparte; "matters were much more desperate there. In half an hour, everything will take a different turn." The moment appeared, indeed, to be critical. The unanimity of the Assembly was such that no Deputy, not even Lucien, durst refuse the proposed oath. Many added inflammatory speeches, intended for the ears of the soldiers, speaking of Cæsar, and Cromwell, and a military Dictator. Those who had been the most decided for a change began to waver, and the timid became zealous for the Constitution. Napoleon saw that if he delayed, he would be inevitably lost. He hastily crossed the Saloon of Mars, and entering the Council of Ancients, followed by two or

COUNCIL OF ANCIENTS.

three of his officers, placed himself at the bar, opposite to the President. "Representatives of the People," said he, "you are here in no ordinary circumstances. You stand on a volcano! The Republic no longer possesses a government. Factions are busy, and the hour of decision is come. I was living in privacy with my family, when you called me to arms. I instantly collected around me my brave comrades, and we have flown to your succour. Our zeal is rewarded with calumny: they talk of Cæsar, of Cromwell, of military despotism. Had I desired to usurp the supreme authority, I might have done so upon the call of my fellow-citizens and soldiers, after our triumphs in Italy; but I swear to you, Representatives of the People, that the country has no more zealous defender than myself. It is to you that we must look for safety. The Council of Five Hundred is divided and influenced by agitators and turbulent men, who would bring back the revolutionary tribunals, and who are even now sending out emissaries to instigate Paris to revolt. But fear not these criminal projects; surrounded by my brethren in arms I shall find means to protect you from violence. And you, brave grenadiers, whose caps I observe at the doors of this hall, whom I have so often led to victory against banded kings—I, who am now accused of being hostile to liberty—say, did I ever break my word, when in the camp, in the midst of privations, I promised you victory and plenty, and when I led you from conquest to conquest? Say, was it for my own aggrandisement?"

Napoleon, though animated, was still perfectly collected. He spoke, however, with unwonted energy; and the grenadiers, waving their caps and brandishing their arms in the air, with one accord testified their assent to all he had urged. "I desire nothing for myself," he resumed, "but that you would save the Republic; and not hazard the loss of those advantages for which we have made such great sacrifices—Liberty and Equality"—"And the Constitution," exclaimed Linglet, a democratic member. "Swear with us, General, obedience to the Constitution of the year Three, which alone can save the Republic."

This proposition took the Council by surprise, and disconcerted Napoleon himself; he presently recovered himself, however, and replied: "The Constitution of the year Three? you have it no longer.

PROPOSAL OF OUTLAWRY.

You violated it on the 18th of Fructidor, when the government infringed the rights of the Legislative body; you violated it on the 30th of Prairial, in the year Seven, when the Legislative body struck at the independence of the government; you violated it on the 22nd of Floreal, when, by a sacrilegious decree, the government and the Legislative body invaded the sovereignty of the people, by annulling their elections. The Constitution is a mockery, invoked by all parties, and disregarded by all in turn. It can no longer afford safety to any, for it has lost the respect of all. The Constitution being violated, there must be a new compact, new guarantees."

Many members rose on the conclusion of this address, to indicate their approbation. Cornudet and Regnier spoke in support of the General's assertions; but there were others who hesitated not to denounce Napoleon as the only conspirator against public liberty. Some invited him to enter into details as to the conspiracies to which he had alluded; others shouted for the appointment of a general committee to deliberate on the state of the country. Bonaparte briefly informed the Council of the offers which had been made by Barras and others, to put him at the head of a party, and invest him with the sovereign power of the State; and that all parties agreed in despising the Constitution of the year Three.

At this moment he was informed that the *Appel Nominal* was terminated in the Council of Five Hundred, and that the members were endeavouring to force the President to put the outlawry of his brother to the vote. After muttering a few indistinct words, Napoleon turned sharply round, and exclaiming, "Let all who love me follow me," quitted the hall. He was received by the soldiers in the court-yard with reiterated cries of "Vive Bonaparte!" But he was now perceptibly agitated. The storm in the Council of Five Hundred was at its height, and the General's partisans there, although numerous, were overawed and wavering. Yet, however uncertain the result of the day, there was no retreat. The last stake must perforce be ventured, and a few hours more would decide whether Napoleon should sleep next day in the palace of the Luxembourg, or finish his career in the *Place de la Revolution*.

The Council was discussing the legality of Barras's resignation, the notification of which had just been read from the chair, when the

NAPOLÉON IN DANGER.

plumed hats of generals and aides-de-camp, the caps of grenadiers, drawn sabres, and bristling bayonets, became visible at the entrance of the chamber. Napoleon, leaving the soldiers at the door, advanced alone, and uncovered, about half way up the room, when two or three hundred members rose simultaneously, amid vociferations of "Death to the Tyrant!" "Down with the Dictator!" "Outlaw the new Cromwell!—the Traitor!" Bonaparte attempted to speak; but his words died away amid the universal uproar. Several members advanced to seize him; and one, catching his arm, exclaimed, "Madman! you profane the sanctuary of the laws!—Withdraw!" At this instant, some of the grenadiers, fearing for the safety of their chief, rushed forward, overthrowing all that opposed their passage, surrounded Napoleon, and forced him out of the chamber. In the struggle, a soldier named Thomé received a dagger-thrust; aimed, it is said, at the breast of Napoleon, by Arena, a deputy from Corsica.

Napoleon's nerves, strong as they generally were, seemed completely shaken by the unexpected treatment he had experienced. He staggered as he descended the steps of the hall to the court-yard; and

LUCIEN.

was scarcely able to speak. In broken words, he said to those near him: "I was about to point out to them the means of saving the Republic, and restoring the national glory. They have answered me with daggers. What more could the Allied Kings—could England—have done?"

In the Council, the rage and commotion of the Members increased on the withdrawal of Napoleon. Lucien endeavoured to calm them, but he was interrupted by loud cries for a sentence of outlawry against his brother. "He has tarnished his glory!" "He is an enemy to the Republic!" with similar and more violent exclamations, were all that could be distinguished in the assembly, and disapprobation seemed to be universal. The President quitted the chair, and succeeded in reaching the tribune. "You wish me," he said, "to put to the vote a sentence of outlawry against my Brother, the saviour of his country, whose very name makes kings tremble?" But all appeals were vain. Finding, after several ineffectual attempts, that he could not obtain a hearing, he threw off his hat, robe, and scarf of office, and descended the tribune to quit the hall, whence he was borne in safety by a body of grenadiers, sent in for that purpose by Napoleon.

Matters were now come to extremity on each side. The Council was without a President, and the members were all too greatly agitated to be capable of acting with the calmness and decision which the crisis demanded. Lucien, on gaining the court, instantly mounted on horseback, amid the cheers of the soldiers, and exclaimed, in his deep, powerful voice: "General, and you, Soldiers of France! the President of the Council of Five Hundred proclaims to you that factious men, with drawn daggers, have interrupted the deliberations of the Assembly: he calls upon you to employ force against the disturbers.—The Council of Five Hundred is dissolved!" Napoleon, who had become reassured, now in his turn harangued the troops: "Soldiers!" he cried, "I have often led you to victory: can I rely on you?" He was answered with shouts of "Vive Bonaparte!" There was some hesitation, however, among the grenadiers, when they perceived that they were required to act against the National Representatives. Lucien observing this, unsheathed his sword, and called out, "I swear to pierce the bosom of my own Brother, if ever he entertain a thought injurious to the liberties of Frenchmen." Renewed shouts rent the

EXPULSION OF THE COUNCIL.

air; and, at a signal from Napoleon, Murat, at the head of a detachment in close column, with fixed bayonets, entered the hall. Cries of fear now became mingled with vociferations and screams of "*Vive la République!*" Some of the Deputies at once quitted the hall; but others remained firm, and continued to vent their indignation against this military intrusion. Their clamour was at length drowned by the drums, beating the charge. As the bayonets advanced, occupying the whole width of the chamber, the most resolute members became alarmed, and, tearing off their gowns, scarfs, and hats, made their escape through the windows. It was proposed to Napoleon at this

moment, that the fugitives should be fired upon as they fled through the gardens; but to this dastardly request, he replied by enjoining the soldiers to commit no excesses. "It is my wish," he said, "that not one drop of blood may be shed."

About a hundred of the members, known to be favourable to Bonaparte, and who had sought refuge in the courts and galleries

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of the palace, were now collected by Lucien; and they proceeded in a body to the Council of Ancients, which had witnessed the expulsion of the Five Hundred with great uneasiness. The explanations given by Lucien, although full of exaggeration, and containing statements which all who heard him must have known to be untrue, were received as satisfactory; and, eventually, it was decided to appoint two committees of twenty-five members each, to represent the Councils provisionally, report upon the state of the Republic, and prepare a civil code. The Councils were to be adjourned to the 1st of the following Ventose (19th of February), and Sieyès, Ducos, and Napoleon invested, as Consuls, with the executive power of the Republic. The business closed with a vote of thanks to the troops for the happy issue of the day. Thus the Constitution of the year Three, which had been established by the arms of Napoleon, on the day of the Sections in 1795, now, (10th November, 1799,) through the same arms, ceased to exist.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 20th of Brumaire, the Provisional Consuls repaired to the Orangery, where amid scattered fragments of the official robes of the Five Hundred, a spiritless remnant of the two Councils, reduced, Bourrienne says, to about thirty members, proceeded, by a mockery of legal forms, to invest the new government with its authority. Lucien, who presided, delivered the following address:—"Citizen Consuls! The greatest people on earth entrusts its fate to you. . . The welfare of thirty millions of men, internal quiet, the wants of the national armies, peace,—such are to be your cares. Doubtless, courage and devotion to your duties are requisite for the due performance of such important functions: but the confidence of our people and warriors is with you; and the Legislative body is assured that your hearts are wholly with the Country. Previously to adjourning we have taken the oath, which you will repeat in the midst of us—the sacred oath of fidelity to the Sovereignty of the People, to the French Republic, one and indivisible, to Liberty, Equality, and the representative system." This nocturnal scene is said to have been of the most gloomy character. The hall was full of overturned benches. The President's desk was near the middle, with its back against the bare wall; a little in advance of which was a table and two chairs for the secretaries. A

PROCLAMATION.

few candles were dispersed about the vast arched chamber, but there being no chandelier or lamp, the light was ghastly and dungeon-like ; while on three benches, which had been adjusted for the occasion, reclined a few Deputies, pale, cold, and haggard ; and several lackeys waited in the background to accompany their masters to Paris.

By three the oaths were administered, and Napoleon, who had taken no refreshment during the day, and who, indeed, seemed insensible to physical wants in seasons of energetic action, was in his carriage, and on his way to repose for the last time in his humble residence, in the *Rue de la Victoire*. At dawn the walls of Paris were placarded with the following proclamation, which during the preceding night had been read in the streets by torchlight :—
“Citizens ! On my return to Paris I found discord pervading every department of government, and this single truth alone unanimously agreed on—‘that the Constitution was half destroyed, and no longer capable of maintaining our liberties.’ Every party by turns applied to me, disclosed to me its designs, and solicited my support. I refused to become the head of any faction. The Council of Ancients called on me : I answered the appeal. A plan for a general reform had been devised by men, in whom the nation is accustomed to behold the defenders of Liberty, Equality, and Property. This plan demanded calm, free, and impartial examination, unfettered by influence or fear. The Council of Ancients, therefore, determined upon the removal of the Legislative body to St. Cloud ; and entrusted me with the disposal of the force necessary for the maintenance of its independence. I deemed it due to our fellow-citizens, to the soldiers who are laying down their lives in our ranks, and the glory purchased by their blood, to accept the command. The Councils met at St. Cloud ; the troops of the Republic guaranteed safety without : but assassins spread terror within. Several Deputies of the Council of Five Hundred, armed with daggers and pistols, threatened death to their companions. The plans which were to have been brought forward were withheld, the majority of the assembly was disorganized, the most intrepid orators were disconcerted, and the futility of any sober proposition became but too evident.

“Indignant and grieved, I hastened to the Council of Ancients, and entreated it to allow me to carry its designs for the public good into

PROCLAMATION.

execution. I urged the misfortunes of the Country which had suggested them. The Council seconded my views, by new testimony of unabated confidence. I then offered myself to the Chamber of Five Hundred—alone, unarmed, my head uncovered, as I had been received by the Ancients, with so much approbation. Instantly the daggers which had menaced the deputies, were raised against their defender. Twenty assassins rushed upon me, aiming at my breast. The grenadiers of the Legislative guard whom I had left at the door of the chamber, hastily interposed between these murderers and myself. One of these brave fellows (Thomé) received a thrust from a poniard which pierced through his clothes. . . They then crowded round the President, threatening him, with arms in their hands. I gave directions for rescuing him from their fury, and ten grenadiers of the Legislative body charged into the chamber, and cleared it. The factious parties, intimidated, dispersed and fled. The majority, relieved from their violence, returned freely and peaceably into the chamber, listened to the proposals made to them, and on due deliberation, framed the wholesome resolutions which are about to become the new and provisional law of the Republic. Frenchmen! you will doubtless recognise in my conduct the zeal of a soldier of Liberty, of a citizen devoted to the Republic. The principles on which preservation, protection, and liberality depend, are restored to their due preponderance by the dispersion of those factious men who tyrannise over the Councils, and who, though they have been prevented from becoming the most odious, are nevertheless the most wretched of men."

This proclamation was unworthy of Napoleon. The inefficiency and venality of the government he had overthrown, the state of political parties, and the disorganization of the whole country, sufficiently justified his conduct, or it was incapable of justification. The misrepresentation and falsehood to which he had recourse, respecting the violence of the Council of Five Hundred, were calculated only to injure him in public estimation, to justify the faithlessness of time-serving friends, and to afford a strong vantage-ground to his enemies, when the fever and panic of the moment should have passed away. Long afterwards he set the matter in its true light, when he said to Las Cases:—"Metaphysicians have disputed, and will long

JUSTIFICATION OF NAPOLEON.

dispute, whether in these proceedings the laws were not criminally violated: but such reasonings are mere abstractions, fit only for books and tribunes, and of no weight in cases of imperious necessity. A sailor might as well be blamed for waste and destruction when he cuts away his masts to avoid shipwreck. The fact is that, had it not been for me, the country must have been lost, and I saved it. The authors and instruments of that memorable change, instead of denials or justifications, have a right to answer their accusers proudly, like the Roman hero,—‘We protest that We have saved our country: come with us, and return thanks to the gods.’”

CHAPTER X.

PROVISIONAL CONSULATE—REFORMS—CONSTITUTION OF THE YEAR EIGHT
—NEW CONSULATE—PACIFICATION OF LA VENDEE—LETTER TO THE KING
OF ENGLAND—EMBASSY TO PRUSSIA—THE EMPEROR PAUL—THE LUXEM-
BOURG. 1799.

LOUD as were the complaints of the defeated Jacobins against what they called the usurpation of Napoleon, the great body of the French people did not fail to regard the change of government as a national blessing. All parties were disgusted with the incapacity of the Directors, and with the insecurity of life and property with which the so-called Reign of Liberty had been marked throughout. All were anxious for the re-establishment of tranquillity; and this, it had been fully proved, could only be obtained under a government possessing sufficient vigour to make its influence felt and respected. General Bonaparte had the confidence of the nation in a greater degree than any man of the time. He had rendered important services to the country; was a man of no faction; had never compromised himself by any mean or unworthy act to secure personal wealth or aggrandisement; had not publicly exhibited that ambition which really actuated him; and had been peculiarly modest and conciliating in his deportment, freely sharing the glory of

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his actions with those who had assisted to achieve them; and displaying upon all occasions an earnest alacrity to do justice to the talents, and to advance the fortunes, of such as distinguished themselves in the discharge of their duty. On him, therefore, rested the

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hopes of France after the revolution which had just been effected. His colleagues in the consulate, as having formed part of the displaced and despised Directory, were men of comparatively little weight.

Sieyès had expected that Napoleon's attention would be exclusively devoted to military affairs, and that on other business his own opinion would have governed that of the General, as well as of Roger Ducos, who had hitherto voted with him in all things. He confidently anticipated, therefore, that the post of Chief Consul would be willingly

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conceded to him ; and that his political speculations would have been adopted, without question, in framing the Constitution which the Consuls, in conjunction with the Committees of the two Legislative Councils, had been charged to prepare. He was soon undeceived in his expectations. Napoleon, on entering the council-room at the Luxembourg, on the morning of the 11th of November, seated himself at once in the only armed-chair at the table. The Abbé immediately introduced the question of the presidency ; and was answered by Ducos, who said that Bonaparte was already in the chair, which belonged to him of right, and that it was therefore useless to waste time in voting upon the question, adding, that the General alone was able to save France, and that he would cordially support and co-operate with him. Sieyès was exceedingly mortified,

but was compelled to submit. In the discussion that followed, the aged politician was perfectly astonished to find, that instead of one whose knowledge was confined to the details of war and the direction of armies, he had in Napoleon a coadjutor, with settled opinions on matters of national policy, finance, jurisprudence, diplomacy, and every branch of civil administration ; that he was able to support his views with arguments at once clear and concise ; and that it would be difficult to divert him from any purpose which he conceived necessary

AVARICE OF SIEYÈS.

to be carried into execution;—in short, that Napoleon was capable of governing independently, and was little disposed to brook the interference of others in matters which might involve the future destinies of the country. Sieyès appears to have arrived at the conclusion, from the tone of this first meeting, that no interest in the Republic could henceforward compete with that of Napoleon, and that the Revolution was ended. On returning home in the evening, he said to those with whom he had acted in concerting measures for the 18th of Brumaire—Talleyrand, Boulay, Rœderer, and others,—“Gentlemen, we have a Master: Bonaparte can and will do everything himself. But,” he added, after a pause, “in the deplorable situation of France, it is better to submit than to protract dissensions which must end in utter ruin.” The opposition of the old man might probably have been more formidable, but that Napoleon had already found means to propitiate him. Sieyès loved money above all things. “He had,” says De Bourrienne, “‘give me money’ written in his face. For this idol he would sacrifice every other consideration; even his favourite notion of a perfect Constitution might be kept in abeyance for a round sum.”

The first sitting of the Consuls sufficed to develop the extent of his avarice, and of the venality and fraudulent embezzlements of the Directorial government. As soon as they had settled the presidency, Sieyès drew the attention of Napoleon to a sort of cabinet in the apartment, and with great mystery informed him that it contained eight hundred thousand francs (upwards of thirty-three thousand pounds). “The Directory,” said the Abbé, “contemplating the possibility of its retiring members being penniless on returning to their families, created in this chest a resource against such a calamity. Every Director, on the expiration of his term of office, was entitled to draw therefrom a good sum. The Directory being abolished, it remains for us to dispose of the remainder.”—“If it comes to my knowledge,” replied Napoleon, laughing, “the sum shall go to the public treasury; but, as I know nothing of it yet, you and Ducos, being old Directors, can divide it between you. Make haste, however, or to-morrow may be too late.” There was no time lost. Sieyès undertook the division, which he performed in much the same way as the lion divided the spoil in the fable. He made four lots,

NEW MINISTRY.

one of which he took as eldest Director, another because he was to have continued in office longer than his colleague; and a third because he had suggested the happy change which had placed the amount in their hands. Ducos very reasonably murmured at receiving only a fourth of the plunder, and appealed to Napoleon for his decision on the subject; but the General refused to interfere, and told them that if the matter came to his ears officially, he should not hesitate to make them refund the whole. It seems scarcely credible, that while this was passing, the whole disposable sum in the public treasury was twelve hundred francs (fifty pounds); and Bonaparte, on the second day of the consulate, was obliged to apply for a loan before he could despatch a courier to the Commander of the Army of Italy.

The new government commenced its operations by the formation of an efficient ministry. Almost every office was found to be in the possession of men utterly ignorant of their duties, and desirous only of realizing money by situations to which they had been appointed for gold. Dubois de Crancé, the Minister at War, was unable to furnish a single report on the state of the army. Many corps had been formed in the provinces, of which the existence was unknown to the Minister. He was asked for an account of the pay. "We don't pay the army," was the reply. "Furnish, then, the returns of the Victualling-office."—"It is out of our department."—"Well, the clothing?"—"We do not clothe the troops." The pay, it appeared, was obtained by anticipating the treasury; and clothing and subsistence by means of requisitions, or forced loans, charged upon the property of the people on the credit of future assessments, the War-office exercising no kind of control, as to amount or distribution. Berthier, who as chief of Napoleon's staff, had been long accustomed to regularity and economy, superseded De Crancé, and immediately took measures for obtaining all the necessary information towards re-establishing order. Gaudin, a man of inflexible probity, was appointed Minister of Finance. He found the treasury empty, the government without credit, the revenues anticipated, and the rate of interest fixed at six per cent. His first step was to put an end to the compulsory loans, which operated injuriously upon every species of property, "impoverishing the wealthy, preventing the poor from growing richer, and drying up all sources of public income." Gaudin

REFORMS.

would not sleep a single night after the portfolio had been entrusted to him till he had drawn up and submitted to the Consuls an act to repeal and remedy this mischievous law. Cambacérès retained the Administration of Justice, Fouché the Police, and Reinhard the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. La Place, the great geometrician, was appointed Minister of the Interior; but he soon proved inadequate to the post, and was superseded. "It seemed as if his philosophic mind, formed to comprehend the system of the universe, and to interpret the laws of nature, could not stoop to the labours of detail, nor apply its powers to the cares of human legislation." He sought for metaphysical subtleties in everything; looked at every question as a problem; and carried the doctrine of the infinite divisibility of matter into the business of the State. A more suitable office was assigned to Monge—the definitive organization of the Polytechnic School, then in its infancy, but since rendered one of the most celebrated, if not the most useful, institutions in the world.

The law of Hostages, which had been passed in the preceding July, and which was both cruel and unreasonable, was repealed. The object of this enactment was, to make the relatives of emigrants answerable in person and property for all the mischief arising from the insurrections still existing in La Vendée and other departments. Many thousands of women, old men, and helpless children had been thus persecuted. The number of sufferers is stated to have exceeded a hundred and fifty thousand. Couriers were sent in every direction to open the prisons—an act of justice and humanity which was hailed by all classes as a pledge of returning moderation and security. The former intolerant laws against the priesthood, by which those who had taken the oaths and those who refused to submit were alike subjected to proscription, were amended. It was laid down as a principle by Napoleon, and this in opposition to the prejudices of his colleagues, that conscience was not amenable to the laws, which could rightfully exact civil obedience and fidelity only. The first step was to order that all priests, who were imprisoned or transported, should be set at liberty on taking the oath of allegiance to the existing government. Upwards of twenty thousand clergymen, who had been languishing in exile or in prison, were thus, within a very short time, restored to their families and flocks. The *decades*,

RECALL OF EMIGRANTS.

and the philosophic ritual of theophilanthropy were abolished, and the churches again devoted to Christian worship. The remains of Pope Pius VI., who had died at Valence, whither he had retired after the Roman revolution, and whose body had been left without sepulture in the sacristy of the cathedral, were honoured with a public funeral, celebrated with all the solemnities due to his high and holy office. Several noble emigrants, who had been shipwrecked some years before on the coast of France, and who, by order of the Directory, had been dragged from prison to prison without being brought to trial, received their liberty. The men of the second emigration, and those who had fled after the 18th of Fructidor, having acknowledged the sovereignty of the people, although enemies to jacobinism, were erased from the proscription list. This measure restored to France, and to the enjoyment of their property which had not been sold, La Fayette, Latour-Maubourg, Bureau de Pusy, Carnot, and

others. Sieyès was greatly alarmed at some of these acts. "The emigrants," said he, "will return in crowds. The Royalists will again raise their heads, and the Republicans will be massacred." So deeply was he affected by the terror of secret plots and assassination, that he once awoke Napoleon at three o'clock in the morning, to inform him of some vague conspiracy which had just been discovered by the police. "Have they corrupted our guard?" asked Napoleon. "No," replied Sieyès. "Then go to bed, and let them alone;" said the Chief Consul: "in war, as well as in love, we must come to close quarters to make an end of it. It will be time enough to be alarmed when our six hundred men are attacked." The fears of the Abbé were unfounded. The generosity exhibited by his colleague was a better safeguard for the government than could have been found in any mere precautionary measures.

France, however, was by no means free from internal enemies. The inhabitants of La Vendée and Languedoc, as well as of Belgium, were still in open insurrection, and continued to proclaim their resolution to restore the throne of the Bourbons. Napoleon opened negotiations with the leaders of these bands, and at the same time directed against them a considerable military force. Meanwhile, he adopted several measures of policy to tranquillize men's minds, unite all parties in obedience to the laws, and settle the government upon a firm and satisfactory basis. In the first place, the oath of hatred to royalty was suppressed, as being useless and factious, and contrary to the majesty of the Republic, which required no such guarantee from its citizens. To this measure there was probably another incentive: a new monarchical oath of fidelity was, there is reason to believe, already in contemplation. The anniversary of the death of Louis XVI., "an excellent person, but," according to Napoleon, "too good and easy, and wanting knowledge to deal with the world," was abolished; though it may be added, by a mere *ruse* — the decree upon which it was founded being one for suppressing all public fêtes, save only those of the 22nd of September and the 14th of July; the first, the era of the foundation of the Republic, and the latter, that of the establishment of Liberty. The next step was to form a general Committee of the Consuls and Legislative Committees, for the purpose of framing a new Constitution, that should remedy the evils of the old, and prevent

SIEYÈS' CONSTITUTION.

the meeting of the two Councils on the day fixed at the time of their adjournment. The meetings for this purpose occurred in the month of December, in the apartment of Napoleon. Sieyès was requested to produce the Constitution he had by him, and which had been greatly extolled by his friends and admirers. After some hesitation, occasioned, perhaps, by a conviction that many of its fair proportions would be frittered away, he produced a plan, by which all power was acknowledged to spring from the people, who were not, however, to exercise any power directly, but to delegate it by a complicated process to a few of their number, to be exercised at last without any regard to the fitness of those entrusted with it. There were to be three lists of notables: the first to consist of a tenth of the citizens of each commune, elected by the inhabitants; the second, of a tenth of the citizens named in the communal lists of each department; and the third, of a tenth of those comprised in the departmental lists; the latter, reduced to six thousand persons, to form the national notability, from among whom the public functionaries of the State were to be chosen. The defect of the system was, as all the officers of the republic were to be chosen from these lists, in the order of their progression, the government would have been prevented from employing many individuals fit for office, merely because they were not included in the nomination; and every five years there was to be a new election. The Representatives were to consist of two bodies: the *Legislative*, or conservative Senate, which should determine by ballot, without being permitted to discuss; and a *Tribunate*, which should report and argue upon the laws propounded to it by a *Council of State*, named by the government, but possessing no power to vote. The supreme power was to be vested in a GRAND ELECTOR, to be chosen for life by the conservative Senate, to possess a revenue of six millions of francs per annum, and a guard of three thousand men, and to reside in the palace of Versailles. To this mock sovereign were foreign ambassadors to be accredited, and from him were all French ministers to receive their credentials. All acts of government, laws, and judicial proceedings were to be in his name. He was to represent the national glory, power, and dignity; but his influence upon public affairs was limited to the appointment of two Consuls, one for peace, and the other for war, entirely independent of each

GRAND ELECTOR.

other, and subject to removal by the Grand Elector alone; who, however, in his turn, was to be "merged in the conservative Senate" if at any time he should be guilty of an arbitrary exercise of power.

Napoleon had tacitly acceded to the preceding portions of the scheme. He probably cared nothing about the structure of the representation, so long as the substantial executive power was left unrestrained in his own hands; by means of which he well knew that he should be able to neutralize all other influences. The proposal for the Grand Elector, however, proved Sieyès' ruin. The First Consul ridiculed to the author's face the metaphysical absurdity of the plan propounded. "Can you conceive," he asked, "that any man of the least talent or honour would humble himself to accept an office, the duties of which are merely to fatten like a pig on so many millions a year? If your Grand Elector choose to abuse his prerogative, you give him absolute power. He may say, for example, when he appoints the Consuls for war and peace, 'If you nominate a single minister, or sign a single act, without my previous approbation, I will remove you.' And then, what would be the situation of these two prime ministers—the one surrounded by judges, financiers, and civilians, the other by military men and diplomatists; the latter, wanting men and money for his armies, and the former, refusing all supplies! Such a government would be heterogeneous and irrational—the shadow of a State, without the consistency of one." He added two or three words which decided the question—"I would never consent to be your Grand Elector."

Sieyès was unable to answer these objections, and remained embarrassed and silent, while his Grand Elector and two Consuls were set aside. The government determined upon was—that of a First Consul, in whom the sovereign power was to be vested, with the sole privilege of nominating to all offices, and two subordinate Consuls, who were to be his indispensable councillors, but to have deliberative voices only. Napoleon was appointed First Consul for ten years; the office of Second Consul, to continue also for ten years, was offered to Sieyès; but, from disappointment and chagrin at finding his system rejected, and a secondary part assigned to himself, he declined the situation, and expressed a wish to retire from public life; Cambacérès was, therefore, nominated in his stead; and Lebrun, a man of sterling abilities and

CONSULATE.

tried integrity, was chosen Third Consul, to continue in office for five years only. The Abbé, in compensation for his many previous services, had the valuable estate of Crosne voted to him, together with the dignity of a senator; and he thenceforth disappeared from political life, being, as it was said, effectually *merged* in his own theories. "The Constitution of the year Eight" was published on the 13th, and came into operation on the 24th of December, at which period, Napoleon afterwards said, his reign had really commenced. The proclamation by which it was announced concludes as follows:—"The Constitution is founded on the true principles of representative government; on the sacred rights of property, equality, and liberty. The powers it has created are strong and durable, as they should be to secure the rights of citizens, and the interests of the State. Citizens! the Revolution, being fixed on the principles in which it originated, *is now ended!*" That the French people generally were disposed to look with a favourable eye upon the new government is apparent from the fact, that while four millions of citizens inscribed their acceptance of the Constitution between the date of its publication and establishment, only a few names, and those of known Jacobins, were registered as non-contents.

The troubles in Toulouse, in the South of France, and in Belgium, had gradually subsided, as the principles and intentions of the government were developed: but the Vendéans and Chouans continued to maintain a depredatory warfare in eighteen departments of the Republic. Many of their chiefs, however, worn out with the fruitless struggle, alarmed by the force sent against them, and the vigour which began to display itself in every branch of the public administration, and dazzled by the reputation of Napoleon, who began to supersede the Bourbons in the affections of the warlike peasantry of the disturbed districts, now sued for peace. Chatillon, Suzannet, D'Autichamp, and the Abbé Bernier, submitted at Montluçon on the 17th January, 1800. Bernier and Chatillon attached themselves to the First Consul, and the former eventually became Bishop of Orleans. La Prevelay and Bourmont shortly afterwards laid down their arms, and came to Paris. Georges Cadoudal, a peasant of Morbihan, the most courageous and able of the insurgent leaders, chose to continue the war in Britany, and the Count de Frotté in Normandy, by which,

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under the pretext of political partisanship, they were enabled to maintain themselves and their followers, by pillage, in a state of the grossest licence. They laid the rich under contribution, as purchasers of the national domains; robbed the public conveyances, under pretence that they carried the revenues of the State; and plundered the provincial banks, because they were sometimes employed in the transactions of the government. For every species of extortion they had a ready and ingenious plea. At the same time, they kept up a correspondence with the vilest inhabitants of the capital, gamblers, swindlers, spies, and felons, through whose agency they disposed of their booty, raised recruits, and obtained intelligence that enabled

them to waylay travellers, and render their ambuscades of greater effect. Frotté was shortly afterwards betrayed by Guidal, the commandant at Alençon, who had been admitted to his confidence; and, being brought to trial, was condemned and shot. So little desirous, however, was Napoleon of executing men for political offences, that he even granted a suspension of the sentence of Frotté: though it

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unfortunately reached its destination too late. Georges was attacked, and hemmed in at Grand-Champ, where he capitulated, gave up his arms and artillery, and promised obedience to the laws as a good and peaceable subject. He solicited and obtained a private interview with Napoleon, who sought, but in vain, to win the Breton to his interest;—Georges departed, avowing the same sentiments of attachment to legitimate royalty which he had always professed. Could he have been won, there is little doubt he would have acquired distinction. Bonaparte was much grieved at his obstinacy, but admitted, that “the very exaggeration of his notions had its origin in noble ideas, which could not fail to give him great influence with his countrymen.” The civil war was now at an end, and its termination afforded scope to the government for other operations.

The formation of the new government gave the First Consul an opportunity of making many desirable changes in the provisional ministry. In this it was his chief object to secure the services of men of talent and experience, without any reference to their former acts or opinions. Practical men, of whatever party, were employed without scruple. Capacity and willingness to take office were all the recommendations required: for mediocrity Napoleon had a profound contempt; but the class of persons most especially disliked by him were the mere oracles of *coteries*; people who were continually talking. “I want,” said he, “more head and less tongue.” In Cambacérès and Lebrun, he had for associates the representatives of the two great parties which divided France: the former, of noble birth, was an aristocrat by inclination, and attached to old institutions, old prejudices, personal honours, and distinctions; while Lebrun, sprung from the hardy Norman peasantry, was the stern advocate of popular rights and democratic equality. On the elevation of the Second Consul, M. D’Abrial, a peer of France, was appointed Minister of Justice. “I know you not, Citizen D’Abrial,” said Napoleon, on handing him his official portfolio; “but I am informed that you are the most upright man in the magistracy. It is on that account I have named you Minister of Justice.” Reinhard, as Foreign Minister, was superseded by Talleyrand. Some objections were made to his vacillating politics. “He is the ablest Minister for Foreign Affairs in our choice,” said Bonaparte; “and it shall be my

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care to make him exert his abilities." There was another advantage which had its weight in the choice of this person: he was a noble of the old *regime*, and foreign ambassadors would be likely to negotiate with one of their own rank, who was already known for refinement of manners, elegance of address, and great talents, with less repugnance than with a mere revolutionist. Carnot was objected to, as an inflexible Republican. "Be it so," was the reply; "he is one of the last Frenchmen that would wish to see France dismembered. His talents in the war department are unrivalled; and we ought to avail ourselves of them, while he is willing to place them at our command." Fouché had rendered himself infamous, as well in public as in private life, by his notorious peculations, falsehood, and profligacy. "Fouché," said Napoleon, "and Fouché alone, is able to conduct the ministry of the police; he alone has a perfect knowledge of all the factions and intrigues which have been spreading misery through France. We cannot create men; but must take such as we find; and it is easier to modify by circumstances the feelings and conduct of an able servant than to supply his place. We are creating a new era. Of the past we must remember only the good, and forget the evil!" The same principles governed the nomination of all the persons required to be placed in authority by the Constitution of the year Eight.

The object of this amalgamation of parties, and suppression of political distinctions, is not difficult to be understood. All things were visibly tending to the consolidation of a new and superior power, which had nothing in common with, and therefore no sympathy for, any of the opinions or systems it had supplanted. A day or two after receiving his appointment, Talleyrand, during an interview with Napoleon, made use of these remarkable expressions:—"Citizen General! you have confided to me the administration of foreign affairs. I will justify your confidence; but I deem it my duty at once to declare that I will consult with you alone. That our country may be well governed, that there may be unity of action, it is indispensable that the First Consul retain the direction of all that pertains to politics—namely, the Home, Foreign, and Police departments, together with those of War and the Marine. I would, therefore, with your permission, advise that the Second Consul, who is an able

HONORARY SABRES.

lawyer, should have the direction of Legal affairs; and that the third should govern the Finances. This will occupy and amuse them; while you, General, having at your disposal the vital powers of government, will be enabled to attain the noble object of your aims—the regeneration of France.” When the Minister had departed, Napoleon confessed to his secretary, that his views had been detected: “Talleyrand,” he added, “gives good counsel: he is a man of excellent sense. What he advises it is my intention to do. They walk with speed who walk alone. Lebrun is an excellent person; but he has no political knowledge—he writes books. Cambacérès has too many traditions of the Revolution. My government must be quite new.”

Another preparatory step towards the contemplated new order of things was the distribution of honorary sabres among the soldiery—the germ from which sprung the Legion of Honour. A serjeant of grenadiers, named Aune, having been thus distinguished, obtained

LETTER TO GEORGE III.

permission to write his thanks to the First Consul. Napoleon replied as follows :—" I have received your letter, my brave comrade. You have no need to tell me of your actions. Since the death of the gallant Benezette, you are the bravest grenadier in the army. You have had one of the first hundred sabres which I have distributed. Every soldier agrees that you were the person who best deserved it. —I wish to see you again. The Minister of War sends you an order to come to Paris." This letter circulating, as it could not fail to do, among the troops, served the double purpose of keeping alive their enthusiastic admiration for the great General, and rendering them devoted adherents to the interest of the First Consul.

The foreign relations of the Republic had been scarcely attended to during the progress of the recent changes. Now, however, that internal quiet was restored, and a government which had at least the elements of stability in its composition, established, it was necessary, both for the permanent tranquillity of the State and the carrying out of Napoleon's personal designs, that an honourable peace should be obtained, or victory brought back to the national arms. France was at war with nearly all Europe: Russia, Austria, England, and the Princes of the Italian States; for all of which England furnished the chief supplies. In order to ascertain if peace were practicable, the First Consul, discarding the forms usual upon attempting to open negotiations with a hostile power, despatched, on the 26th December, the following autograph letter to George the Third :—

"FRENCH REPUBLIC—SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE—LIBERTY—EQUALITY.

"BONAPARTE, *First Consul of the Republic, to his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland.*

"Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first Magistracy of the Republic, I have thought proper, in commencing the discharge of its duties, to communicate the event directly to your Majesty.

"Must the war which, for eight years, has ravaged the four quarters of the world be eternal? Is there no room for accommodation? How can the two most enlightened nations in Europe, stronger and more powerful than is necessary for their safety and independence, sacrifice commercial advantages, internal prosperity, and domestic

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happiness, to vain ideas of grandeur? Wherefore is it that they do not feel peace to be the first of wants as well as of glories? These sentiments cannot be new to your Majesty, who rule over a free people with no other view than to render them happy. Your Majesty will see in this overture only my sincere desire to contribute effectually, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a prompt step, taken in confidence, and free from those forms which, however necessary to disguise the apprehensions of feeble States, serve only to discover in the powerful a mutual wish to deceive.

"France and England may, by the abuse of their strength, long defer the period of utter exhaustion; but I will venture to say, that the fate of all civilized nations is concerned in the termination of a war, the flames of which are raging throughout the whole world.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"BONAPARTE."

The British Ministry of the day, as have their advocates since, characterized this proceeding as a display of bad taste, a breach of etiquette, an indecorous schooling of majesty, and a matter involving by implication a total want of sincerity, or a desire to obtain unreasonable or inadmissible conditions. It has been well observed by Mr. Hazlitt, however, that "where the personal character and motives of the government were continually cavilled at, and made, as in this very instance, an insuperable bar to peace, it was surely allowable for the chief magistrate to come forward in his own person, and take a frank and decisive step, as free as possible from official embarrassment and mystery. It was, at any rate, a less flagrant licence than the assassination of ambassadors, which was the *legitimate* termination of the negociation of Rastadt—the last diplomatic transaction in which Napoleon had been engaged." It was believed in England that the time was favourable for continuing the war. Italy had been lost to France, and Austrian armies, numbering a hundred and forty thousand men, were menacing Savoy, and mustering on the Rhine. The English were elated with their successes at the Nile, and before Acre: The victories of Suwarrow were recent, and considered to be decisive. The poverty of France, and the anxiety of her people for repose, were well known; and it was hoped, from the manner in which Napoleon had acquired his present power, that the Royalist and

LORD GRENVILLE.

Republican factions might be brought to unite in opposition to his government, and either strip him of his influence, or so embarrass his operations as to render him an easy prey to his foreign enemies. The answer transmitted by Lord Grenville to Talleyrand was couched, therefore, in terms which were sure to prove offensive, and to put an end, for a time, to all further overtures of conciliation. It contained, among others, the following passages:—"His Majesty, seeing no reason to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe for transacting business with foreign States, has commanded me to return, in his name, the official answer which I send you herewith enclosed. . .

"The King neither is nor has been engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining against all aggression the rights and happiness of his subjects. For these he has contended against an unprovoked attack, and for the same objects he is still obliged to contend; nor can he hope that this necessity could be removed by entering, at the present moment, into negotiations with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France; since no real advantage can arise from such negotiation, to the great and desirable object of general peace, until it shall appear that those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war, and by which it has since been protracted, and in more than one instance renewed. . . . For the extension of [aggressive war] and the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France have, from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss Canton—his Majesty's ancient friends and allies—have successively been sacrificed. Germany has been ravaged: Italy, though now rescued from its invaders, has been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His Majesty has himself been compelled to maintain an arduous and burdensome contest for the independence and existence of his kingdoms. . . Greatly will his Majesty rejoice whenever it shall appear, that the dangers to which his own dominions, and those of his allies, have been so long exposed have really ceased. Whenever he shall be satisfied that the necessity of resistance is at an end; that, after the

FAILURE OF NEGOCIATION.

experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have ultimately prevailed in France; and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the restless schemes of destruction which have endangered the existence of civil society, have been finally relinquished. . . . The best and most natural pledge of the reality and permanence of such change, would be the restoration of that line of princes which, for so many centuries, maintained the French nation in prosperity at home and respect abroad; such an event would at once have removed, and will at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negotiation or peace! . . . In this situation it can, for the present, only remain for his Majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other Powers, exertions of just and defensive war."

England had thus the satisfaction of repelling the advances of the First Consul, by a series of ironical and insulting common-places, which were neither true as assertions, nor applicable to the person against whom they were directed; and of wasting many millions of money, and an ocean of British blood, in continuing the war. It is probable, however, that Napoleon both wished and anticipated such a result. By making the overture, he had exhibited to the French people that he entertained a desire to secure for the nation the blessings of tranquillity; and its rejection on the grounds assigned, was sufficient to make the renewal of hostilities popular. For himself there is little doubt that he conceived another campaign would conduce to the success of his ulterior views, by proving to France, as well as to her enemies, that his presence and directing hand were necessary to make the Republic respected abroad as a great and independent nation, and happy at home in the enjoyment of a fixed government, sufficiently powerful to protect its adherents, and wise enough to establish and administer throughout the country a code of just and equal laws. By way of commentary on the answer of Lord Grenville, the *Moniteur* published a pretended letter from the last heir of the exiled house of Stuart, demanding from George the Third the throne of Great Britain, which, since the principle of divine right and legitimacy seemed to be in the ascendant, there could be no reason for withholding.

An embassy, sent about the same period, to the Court of Prussia, was favourably received. Duroc had been selected for this mission,

DIPLOMACY.

on account of his graceful manners, good education, and many accomplishments; and because, as he had been with Napoleon in the campaigns of Italy and Egypt, he would be able to entertain Frederic William, a prince who had a high regard for military heroes, with a narrative of the brilliant exploits of the First Consul. The event confirmed the tact of Bonaparte. The first interview of the aide-de-camp with the Prussian monarch lasted two hours, and was almost wholly engrossed with warlike details; and on the morrow the envoy was invited to dine with the King. The Prussian Court was the first to recognise the Consular authority.

The Emperor Paul of Russia next became an ally of the First Consul. Having been disgusted with Austria for the way in which his army had been left under Suwarrow, he withdrew it altogether from the scene of war; and the English government having refused to include, in a cartel of exchange between itself and France, seven or eight thousand Russian prisoners, who had acted under the command of the Duke of York in Holland, the British Ambassador was ordered to quit St. Petersburg, and English ships were seized in all the ports of Russia. Napoleon, conceiving, from the character of the Autocrat, that some advantage might be taken of the disposition he had manifested in these transactions, ordered the prisoners, about whom the last dispute had arisen, to be armed and clothed anew in the uniform of their several corps, and sent back, without ransom, exchange, or condition. Paul had long admired the genius of Napoleon; he was now captivated with his generosity; and forthwith wrote to him expressing his sentiments. "Citizen Consul," he said, "I do not write to you to discuss 'the Rights of Man;' these are the abstractions of your revolution. I confine myself to a fact, that when a great nation has placed at its head an estimable man, of distinguished merit, it has a government; and I address myself to you, because we can understand each other, and I can treat with you. I wish to unite with you to put an end to the injustice of England, who violates every article of the law of nations, and has no guide but her egotism and interest." The friendship of Paul was, no doubt, valuable in a political view; but it seems to have been prized the more highly by Napoleon, inasmuch as it was that of a Sovereign, and drew him a step nearer to becoming a sovereign himself.

PRIVATE LIFE.

Shortly afterwards, the diplomatic corps at Paris, consisting of representatives of Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Baden, Hesse-Cassel, the Cisalpine, Batavian, Helvetian, and Ligurian Republics, were presented to the First Consul, with all the forms and ceremonies observed in regal courts; Councillors of State, and the Minister of the Interior, and Foreign Minister, acting as Chamberlains. Nothing but a titled hereditary Aristocracy was wanting to recall the days of kingly magnificence. It may be observed, however, that Napoleon himself, although fully conscious of his exaltation, preserved the same simple tastes and habits, the same well-regulated attention to the details of business, the same friendships, as while he was merely a General of the Republic. He was accustomed to rise at seven, dress with scrupulous neatness, during which the journals, and such petitions and public documents as required his decision or signature, were usually read to him; then, passing to his cabinet, he read his letters, and wrote or dictated answers till ten, when he breakfasted, usually with some of his aides-de-camp, and one or two literary or scientific friends, besides Josephine and her daughter, Hortense. This frugal meal being despatched, he attended the Council, rode, walked, or paid visits of ceremony or business to some of the public offices. At five, he returned to a hasty dinner; after which he retired to the apartments of Josephine, where he received the visits of ministers, and of the most distinguished persons in the capital. His amiable wife did the honours, on all occasions, with so much grace and fascination, that even the old nobility were attracted to her little Court, and the word *Madame* began again, after its long proscription, to come gradually into use. Opera balls and the old amusements of the Aristocracy were first suffered, then authorized; velvet was once more allowed to be worn, and various colours, which had been forbidden as appertaining to royalty, grew into favour, and became fashionable. The official costume also underwent an alteration. The Greek and Roman dresses disappeared; and were replaced by those of the age and country. Napoleon himself generally appeared in uniform—that of the Guides—which became him much better than the Consul's civil robes. The first time he gave an audience in the latter, it was remarked to him that he wore a military black stock, which was out of keeping with the rest of his dress.

THE CLERGY.

"No matter;" he answered, "a remnant of the soldier will do us no harm." Perhaps, however, the most remarkable of all the characteristics of the new era was, that many of the returned priests, who received pensions from the State, in lieu of the revenues of their benefices, which had been appropriated to other uses, now voluntarily offered prayers in their churches for the safety and well-ordering of the Consular government.

CHAPTER XI.

REMOVAL TO THE TUILERIES — NEW CAMPAIGN OF ITALY — ARMY OF RESERVE — PASSAGE OF THE GREAT ST. BERNARD — MONTEBELLO — MARENGO — RETURN TO PARIS — NATIONAL FÊTE. 1800.

LIBERTY AND EQUALITY — words to which different meanings are applicable in the mouths of different utterers — had been the ostensible plea for overthrowing the Directory. The Consulate had not been long established, when the import which Napoleon attached to them was exemplified, not as formerly from the tribune, or by the harangues of philosophical politicians, but by the decrees and silent proceedings of the Government. Among the first restrictive acts, the press was put under surveillance, and the number of political journals limited, "during the war," to thirteen. "Great man as Bonaparte was," says De Bourrienne, "he feared the influence of little books." He knew that a part of the press was in the pay of the enemies of the Republic, and, reverencing posthumous

SECRET POLICE.

fame as he did, he dreaded lest calumny or misrepresentation should sully his glory; moreover, he was of opinion, that the misfortunes of Louis XVI. were in a great measure attributable to the licence of the journalists. He never believed, till after his return from Elba, that freedom of expression is its own corrective; and that, where it exists, the energy which might be mischievously employed in its absence, is almost sure to vent itself in harmless words: the uninformed and fettered being those who most frequently have recourse to slander or physical force as a means of attack.

During the revolutionary struggles, the police had always been used as a political instrument of espionage, to which its proper functions for the preservation of public peace and order were made entirely subservient. The crafty and unscrupulous Fouché had converted its agency into a still more terrible species of inquisition. He organized a host of domestic informers; who, not satisfied with detecting real conspiracies, became the inventors of treasons which had never existed or been thought of, and by giving to a hasty expression of discontent the character of sedition, frequently involved men in prosecutions for the sake of the reward to be obtained on their conviction. No person was safe; none durst utter his thoughts; or, where these had been inadvertently expressed, false accusations were not unfrequently resorted to against the hearer as a means of security for the culprit. Napoleon, though he knew of these atrocities, had not the moral courage to suppress the system which had originated and encouraged them. He seemed, indeed, to consider its existence a necessary evil, as operating upon men's fears, and thus conducing to their obedience. In order to mitigate its horrors, however, he established a counter-system, in a secret police, the reports of which were made directly to himself. This, it is almost unnecessary to say, was merely complicating the iniquities sought to be remedied; and if little mischief resulted from it to individuals, it was because the First Consul felt too secure in the regard generally entertained for his person and character, to be alarmed without the actual presence of danger; and not because the one set of spies revealed the falsehoods perpetrated by the others. Each in fact endeavoured to outvie the other in discoveries and inventions, the plausibility and terror of which were sufficient to have rendered any but a man of extensive

LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

knowledge of mankind, of strong nerve, and sound reasoning powers, a Nero. Political Liberty, under such circumstances, was out of the question: with Equality it fared somewhat better. The distinctive privileges of caste, which had been one of the great grievances from which the Revolution sprung, were entirely at an end. Every man was equal in the eye of the law: all appealed to the same tribunals, and received an equal measure of justice. The taxes were proportioned to the means of the payers; the oppressive feudal claims of landed proprietors had ceased; and there was no situation in the State to which the humblest of its citizens might not aspire to elevate himself by genius and application. Even those who complained that Napoleon was a favourer of Aristocracy, admitted that the only Aristocracy he patronized was that of intellect and industry.

It is probable, then, that while so many valuable immunities were assured to them, of which the practical benefits were capable of being participated in and appreciated by all, the French people cared little for speculative notions of Freedom, which, though they had been so greatly extolled by demagogues, and had cost so much blood and treasure, had never been realized. It was Napoleon's chief aim, indeed, to create a popular feeling that what his opponents called his ambition, was advantageous to France. The multitude of masters, under whose exactions the nation had so long suffered, had no permanent interest in the public prosperity; their sole aim having been to secure a resource for themselves against the period when, like their predecessors, they should be driven from power, with no provision save that which they could make by malversation. The national industry had thus been oppressed, instead of encouraged; and universal poverty, misery, and discontent was the terrible meaning which began to be attached to the term Equality, for and against which all parties in the State had ventured and endured so much. Napoleon looked upon the dominion of France as the reward of his labours in behalf of her citizens; and he therefore sought to make her the greatest and most glorious nation on earth: his private interests, his individual feelings, were all absorbed in this one object. The treasures of France were considered as constituting his wealth; her celebrity was the guarantee for his fame. He would even repine at the extravagance of Josephine, when she purchased for her own

THE TUILERIES.

greenhouse or gallery, a rare plant or a beautiful statue or painting, and say that she was injuring his *Jardin des Plantes*, or *Musée de Paris*. Agriculture, manufactures, commerce; public improvements of all kinds; roads, bridges; literature, the arts; all that could contribute to the prosperity or heighten the dignity of the Republic, were actively patronized by the First Consul; who thus evinced a determination to sustain, in all things, the character which had been ascribed to him, at his return from Egypt, of "Saviour and Protector" of the State. Whatever was done, was at the sole will and ordering of Napoleon. Cambacérès and Lebrun appeared at the Council table, rather as spectators of his proceedings than as his co-ordinates in power. The peculiar circumstances by which he was surrounded, may plead in his behalf, if, amid his many praiseworthy acts, he occasionally overstepped the limits of just authority, in order to attain or secure, what he conceived to be, a necessary end.

The increased and increasing establishment which his situation rendered necessary, and perhaps the popular opinion, that the atmosphere of the Tuileries was unfitted for any but a royal residence, suggested, at an early period of the Consulate, a removal of the Government to that monarchical palace. In the first days of the year 1800, busy preparations for this change began to be made. Some of the directions were characteristic of the new era. The *bonnets rouges*, "smeared" over the walls of the apartments in which the Legislative Councils had held their sittings, were ordered to be obliterated, together with the tri-coloured cockade daubed upon the forehead of Louis XIV. "I will have no such abominations," said Napoleon. The new furniture and decorations, though simple and unostentatious, were in good taste, and free from the affectation of Republican emblems, which had been for some years fashionable. In order, however, to render these omissions as unobtrusive as possible, the statues of Demosthenes, Junius Brutus, Scipio, Cicero, Marcus Brutus, Washington, Dugommier, Dampierre, and Joubert—men whose celebrity belonged to the annals of freedom—were placed, among others of the most remarkable Statesmen and Warriors of ancient and modern times, in the splendid galleries of what now received the unobjectionable name of "The Palace of the Government."

DEATH OF WASHINGTON.

While these preparations were in progress, the marriage of the handsome and gallant Murat with the beautiful Caroline Bonaparte, Napoleon's youngest, most talented, and favourite sister, was celebrated at the Luxembourg. The parties had become acquainted in Italy, but Napoleon was long averse to the connexion. "Murat," he said, "is the son of an innkeeper: in the exalted station to which fortune has raised me, his blood cannot mingle with mine." The achievements of the Aide-de-camp in Egypt, however, where he is said to have conducted himself more like one of the chivalrous knights of ancient romance than a mere Republican soldier; he having, at the head of not more than twenty men, performed exploits which could scarcely have been expected from a regiment, effaced the recollection of his humble birth. The sole dowry which the First Consul was at this time able to bestow upon the bride, was thirty thousand francs (twelve hundred and fifty pounds).

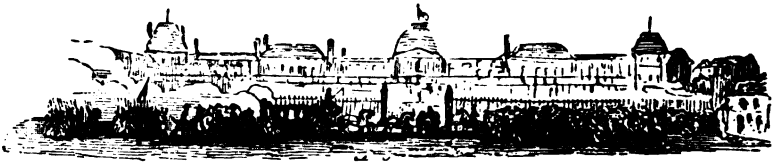
On the 9th of February was held a grand military fête, for the presentation, in the Temple of Mars, of seventy-two stands of Turkish colours, taken at Aboukir. The news of the death of Washington, who expired on the 14th of the preceding December, had just reached France; and Napoleon, to honour the memory of that celebrated Chief, published the following order of the day to the army:—"Washington is dead: that great man, who fought against tyranny and consolidated the liberty of his country. His memory will ever be dear to the French people, and to all freemen in both worlds; but more especially to the soldiers of France, who, like him and his American troops, fight in defence of Liberty and Equality. The First Consul has, therefore, ordered that, for the space of ten days, black crape shall be hung on all the colours and standards of the Republic."

The occasion was eagerly seized to render the presentation of the flags more impressive. All the Ministers, State Councillors, and Generals then in Paris, were invited to assist at the solemnity. The temple was decorated with the trophies of the Italian campaign, and other Republican victories. Beside the Minister of War, in his splendid official robes, stood Napoleon, conspicuous for his simple attire; and in front of him were two aged veterans, each in his hundredth year. Beneath the standards of Aboukir reposed the bust

NEW CONSULAR RESIDENCE.

of the American Liberator, whose funeral oration, embracing a high eulogium of Bonaparte, was pronounced by M. de Fontanes, a recalled emigrant.

Ten days after this display, Napoleon quitted the Luxembourg to take possession of the Tuileries. The procession was not brilliant, except in military pomp. Three thousand chosen soldiers, including the First Consul's favourite regiment of Guides, formed the escort.



The civil functionaries were in carriages and hackney-coaches. The only state-carriage was that of the Consuls, which was drawn by six beautiful white horses; presented to Napoleon by the Emperor of Austria, after the treaty of Campo Formio. The Parisians greeted the cortège with shouts of unaffected joy, as an omen of stability and peace. Arrived at the Tuileries, the First Consul alighted, vaulted on horseback, and proceeded to review the troops in the presence of an immense concourse of spectators, for whose gratification the scene was prolonged beyond ordinary limits. The moment Napoleon appeared in the midst of the soldiery, the acclamation, as from a single voice, rose from the whole multitude, "Long live the First Consul!" and the balconies and windows of the adjacent houses seemed in motion with the waving of scarfs and handkerchiefs from elegantly dressed women.

A number of military evolutions having been exhibited, the various corps filed before Napoleon, who had stationed himself, between Murat and Lannes, near the gates of the Palace. Behind were the numerous officers of his Staff, consisting chiefly of young men bronzed by the suns of Italy and Egypt; "every one of whom had been in more battles than he numbered years." When the Consul beheld the colours of the 30th, the 43rd, and the 86th demi-brigades, which were little better than bare staves, supporting some tattered fragments

ARMY OF EGYPT.

of silk, rent by bullets and blackened with smoke, he took off his hat and bowed to them, with deep reverence. Again, the shouts of the

assemblage resounded through the air; and, ere they had ceased, Napoleon dauntlessly ascended the steps of the Tuileries, and installed himself in the palace of the Kings of France. The ceremonies of the day concluded with grand dinners. The First Consul entertained Cambacérès, Lebrun, the Ministers, and Presidents of the Senate and Tribunal; Murat received the Chiefs of the Army; and Lucien the Members of the Council of State.

At this period, Napoleon received news from the Army of Egypt, accompanied by a letter, addressed to the Directory, from Kleber, in which that General bitterly complained of the situation in which he and the army had been placed by the departure of the Commander-in-chief. "The troops," said this document, "are diminished one-half; and we have no longer to contend with a few hordes of intimidated Mamelukes, but against the united efforts of three great powers—the Porte, the English, and the Russians. Arms, powder, and shot are failing us, without a possibility of supply. The soldiers are naked; a state the more distressing, inasmuch as in this country it is the most active cause of disease. General Bonaparte exhausted

KLEBER.

all the disposable resources of the country; and, though he anticipated the revenue by twelve millions of francs, he left the pay of the troops four millions in arrear. The season is unfavourable; the Nile has not risen to its usual height; and Egypt, though apparently tranquil, is by no means submissive. The people, notwithstanding all our conciliatory efforts, look upon us as the enemies of their property. Murad Bey is still in Upper Egypt, with a force sufficient to give constant occupation to a portion of the army; and, if he were to be left unnoticed, his power would soon increase, and he would attack us in Cairo, the inhabitants of which have never ceased to assist him with money and arms. Ibrahim is at Gaza, with two thousand Mamelukes; and I am informed, that thirty thousand men, of the army of the Grand Vizier and of Djezzar Pacha, have already joined him there. Our heavy artillery was all lost in the disastrous campaign of Syria, and the ship guns were carried off by General Bonaparte to arm the two frigates, with which he departed for France. All that I have advanced I am ready to prove by *procès verbaux*. In these circumstances, what can, or ought I to do?"

These statements, there is every reason to believe, were greatly exaggerated. Kleber had taken the command of the army with reluctance. He had, from the first, looked upon the expedition with no approving eye, and was inclined to magnify every difficulty that arose, in order to obtain his own recall to France. It is impossible, however, to say what would have been the effect of the communication, furnishing as it did such powerful weapons against Napoleon, had it been received before the 18th of Brumaire. As it was, the importance which Bonaparte attached to it may be inferred from the fact, that the intelligence was kept a profound secret from his colleagues as well as the public; and the following proclamation, addressed to the Army of Egypt, was calculated to mislead all parties as to the real tendency of events:—"Soldiers! The Consuls of the Republic often turn their cares to the Army of the East. France is grateful for the influence of your conquests in the restoration of her commerce, and the civilization of the world. The regard of all Europe is fixed upon you. I too, in thought, am often with you. In whatever situation the changes of war may place you, be always the soldiers of Rivoli and Aboukir, and then you will be invincible.

ARMY OF RESERVE.

Yield to Kleber that unbounded confidence which you gave to me. He merits it all. Soldiers! think of the day, when crowned with victory you shall re-enter our sacred territory. That will be a day of glory for the whole nation!"

The accusations of Kleber, notwithstanding the compliment conveyed to him in this address, stung the First Consul to the quick, and was long a source of annoyance to him. Many years after, when at St. Helena, he wrote an elaborate, if not a perfectly satisfactory, refutation of the whole document.

Napoleon, when he first seized the reins of power, had promised peace to the Republic; and, in addressing the King of England, and in his other negotiations, had taken measures to redeem his word. The answer of Lord Grenville, however, and the preparations of Austria, shewed that not only the peace but the independence of the nation rested upon future victories. Marshal Melas, a veteran Imperialist, was already in Piedmont at the head of a hundred and forty thousand men, waiting the approach of spring to resume operations, in concert with the British fleet, which blockaded Genoa, by reducing that city, crossing the Var, and carrying the war into the heart of France. Early in January, Napoleon had issued orders for the formation of an army of reserve to assemble at Dijon, and to consist of all the veteran soldiers of France, who were capable of service, together with thirty thousand conscripts; the command of which was conferred upon Berthier. Moreau, meanwhile, was appointed chief of the Armies of the Rhine. Massena was placed at the head of the Army of Italy; and Brune was invested with the command of the Army of Holland. The distress and disorganization which had become general among the troops during the absence of Napoleon, in consequence of the mismanagement of the Directory, and the successive defeats sustained by the Republican arms, disappeared immediately it was known that the First Consul was to direct their future operations. The general order which produced such an electrical effect, ran in these words:—"Soldiers! In promising peace to the French people, I have been merely your organ. I know your valour. You are the same men who conquered Holland, the Rhine, Italy, and gave peace beneath the walls of astonished Vienna. Soldiers! the defence of your own frontiers must

ARMY OF RESERVE.

no longer bound your desires. The states of our enemies remain to be subdued. There is not one among you who, having made a campaign, is ignorant that the most essential quality of a soldier is to endure privations with constancy. Many years of mal-administration cannot be repaired in a day. As First Magistrate of the Republic, it will be grateful to me to declare to the whole nation what troops deserve, by their discipline and valour, to be proclaimed the best supporters of their country. Soldiers! when the proper times arrives, I will be in the midst of you, and awe-struck Europe shall confess, that you are of the race of the brave!"

The muster at Dijon was merely a feint to deceive the enemy as to the plan of the intended campaign; and in this it was eminently successful. A numerous and efficient staff was sent thither; and it was announced in the *Moniteur* and elsewhere, that the First Consul would review the troops in person. To Dijon, accordingly, were all the spies and agents of Austria and England attracted, who, when they saw that this vaunted force did not exceed five or six thousand men, consisting of raw recruits and maimed and aged men, badly clothed, indifferently armed, and undisciplined, transmitted such accounts to their respective employers, that caricatures, representing a few boys and invalids in the process of drilling, inscribed "Bonaparte's Army of Reserve," together with pasquinades, scandalous anecdotes of the First Consul, and arguments proving that no real army of reserve could be collected, were published throughout Europe. Napoleon, if not the author, was certainly the promoter of these pleasantries, so well calculated to divert attention from his designs; while his energies were devoted to the organization of the real Army of Reserve, and the arrangement of the details of one of the most daring campaigns ever attempted. His design was explained in a conversation with De Bourrienne, who one day entered his cabinet, while he lay stretched upon the floor fixing pins—the heads of which were covered with black and red sealing-wax to denote the Austrian and French troops—in Chauchard's large map of Italy. "I intend to beat Melas thus," he said: "that General is now at Alessandria, where he will remain till Genoa has surrendered. Passing the Alps, at the Great St. Bernard, I shall fall upon his rear, before he even suspects that I am in Italy; and, having taken his magazines,

ARMY OF RESERVE.

stores, and hospitals, and cut off his communication with Austria, I will give him battle in the plains of the Scrivia, and decide the fate of the war at a blow." It is worthy of remark, that his last red pin was placed at the village of St. Julian.

The secrecy observed with regard to the Army of Operation, was not penetrated by the enemy. This army was composed chiefly of troops which the pacification of La Vendée, and other Royalist districts, allowed to be drawn from those departments, and of the regiments which had composed the Directorial and Consular Guards, whose presence in Paris were no longer necessary. The several divisions were marched to the appointed rendezvous, by separate routes, each corps being in ignorance of the destination of the others. The artillery and stores were sent, at several times, from various fortresses and arsenals. Provisions were forwarded from Lyons to Toulon and Geneva, to be embarked thence, when required, for Genoa and Villeneuve; and twenty-four thousand francs (a thousand pounds) were transmitted to the monks of St. Bernard, to purchase additional refreshments for crossing the Alps.

Napoleon remained in the capital till everything was in readiness for the advance of the army, when Berthier wrote to him from Geneva:—"I wish to see you here. There are orders to be given, by which three armies may act in concert, and you alone can give them in the lines. Measures decided on in Paris are too late." On the evening of the 5th of May, the Consuls and Ministers were summoned to a Council at the Tuileries, at which Napoleon communicated his intention to join the army. "A grand stroke is contemplated," he said; "but the campaign will be short. Italy has echoes to repeat my name." This intelligence occasioned some surprise; for it had been expressly provided by the new Constitution, that neither of the Consuls should be permitted to command an army in person. Bonaparte came at once to the point; and explained, that the Chief Magistrate of the Republic was not forbidden to be *present* with the troops in battle—an omission, which had enabled him to arrange with Berthier, that while the latter was nominally Commander-in-chief, the First Consul should have the entire disposal of the Army. "To-morrow morning," said Napoleon, "I set out for Dijon, to review the Army of Reserve. Cause this to be published in the journals; and add, that

ADVANCE OF THE ARMY.

I may probably go as far as Geneva; but give positive assurance of my return within fifteen days. If anything happen during my absence, I will return, like the thunderbolt! I commend to you the great interests of France.—I hope to be soon spoken of in London and Vienna.”

At two o'clock, in the morning of the 6th, he quitted Paris, taking the route through Burgundy; and talking, by the way, of the great warriors of antiquity, with all the ardent enthusiasm of boyhood. The magnificent hopes which he cherished, made the dangers he was about to encounter seem insignificant. “The conscripts in my army,” he exclaimed, when reminded that they were numerous, and but recently levied, “are Frenchmen! Four years ago, with a feeble army, I chased before me the Austrian and Sardinian hordes, and swept Italy. The sun that now shines over us, is the same that shone on Lodi and Arcola. Crowned with victory, with what pleasure shall I return to *my* beautiful France!” On the 7th, he reached Dijon, where he reviewed the pretended Army of Reserve, and thus afforded additional mirth to the spies who were watching its movements. After halting two hours, Napoleon hastened forward to Geneva, where, by travelling all night, he arrived on the 8th, and was met by General Marescot, who, having been previously despatched to survey the passes of the Great St. Bernard, now presented his report, detailing a number of difficulties of the most appalling description—he having been able to ascend only to the Convent of the Chartreux. “Is the route practicable?” asked Napoleon, impatiently. “It is barely possible to pass,” replied the Engineer. “Enough!” said the First Consul; “let us proceed.”

On the 13th of May, the vanguard of the real Army of Reserve, consisting of six veteran regiments, well clothed and completely equipped, commanded by General Lannes, was reviewed by Bonaparte, at Lausanne, and immediately afterwards moved forward, followed by the rest of the army, under the command of Murat, Victor, Marmont, and others of approved skill and courage—Napoleon and Berthier bringing up the rear; which, having with it the artillery, was the object of highest importance. On the 15th, they reached the village of St. Pierre, at the foot of the high Alps, where all traces of a road disappeared. The army, with its cavalry, baggage, ammu-

PASSAGE OF THE ALPS.

nition-waggon, and artillery, were now to be urged up and along narrow ledges of rock and eternal snow, and through defiles, where even the solitary goatherd picks his way with caution; and where none save him, the chamois-hunter, and the desperate contrabandista are accustomed to venture. On one side, death awaited a single false step; on the other, the overhanging snows might be dislodged by the percussion of a musket, and whole squadrons overwhelmed by the terrific avalanche; while, in the immediate track of the army, lay fathomless chasms, concealed beneath deceitful sheets of frost or snow-drift. In these wild heights the cry of the disturbed eagle was faint, and man breathed with difficulty the thin

" Air of the iced mountain top,
Where the birds dare not build, nor insect's wing
Flit o'er the herbless granite."

The passage of the artillery was the most arduous task; in anticipation of which two half-companies of artificers had been stationed at St. Pierre with field-forges, and other implements, necessary to expedite the march. The guns were dismounted, the carriages and wheels, together with the ammunition, which was packed in wooden cases, were transported on the backs of mules, or slung on poles, and carried by men: and the pieces themselves, fastened by their trunnions into hollowed trunks of trees, were drawn over the snow by the soldiers, a hundred of whom were not unfrequently required to move a single gun. In this way, every man cheerfully taking his turn in the more arduous labour of the ascent, while a comrade carried his musket, cartridge-box, knapsack, and provisions, the army advanced slowly up the mountain. The military bands played during the march; and, at the most difficult points, the charge was beaten to inspire the soldiers with renewed vigour. The animated enthusiasm of the troops, however, needed no spur in addition to the presence and encouragement of Napoleon; though the fatigue undergone was such as probably none but French soldiers could have endured, nor they for any commander but Bonaparte. "The men in front durst not halt to breathe, lest the stoppage should have thrown the column behind into confusion on the brink of deadly precipices; and those in the rear had to flounder, knee deep, through snow and ice trampled

PASSAGE OF THE ALPS.

into sludge by the feet and hoofs of the preceding divisions." Yet such was the gallantry and perseverance of the troops, that one entire division, rather than leave their artillery behind them, preferred to bivouac on the summit of the mountain, in the sleety atmosphere, amid a desolate wilderness of snow.

The passage of Mont St. Bernard occupied four days. Napoleon crossed among the last, sometimes walking, and at others riding a mule, which had been recommended to him as the most sure-footed in the country. His guide was a tall, robust Swiss peasant, with whom he conversed freely, and in whose simple story he took so

CHATILLON.

much interest that, on dismissing him at the Chartreux, he presented him with some money, and a note addressed to the superior of the convent of St. Maurice, where they had slept from the 16th till then, directing that he might be presented with some land and a cottage, which during the journey he had expressed a wish to be able to purchase. The young man was astonished to find that this ill-written scrap of paper was capable of procuring for him the accomplishment of his utmost desire. Many years afterwards he spoke of the First Consul as a very dark man of stern aspect, with eyes which, notwithstanding his affability, impressed the beholder with awe when he encountered them. All that the guide remembered of his conversation was that, when shaking the wet from his hat after a shower, he exclaimed, "I have spoiled my hat among your mountains: but never mind, I shall find a new one on the other side." He had not forgotten, however, the electrical effect of Napoleon's voice upon the soldiery, when any temporary obstacle impeded their progress. A word or look was sufficient to rectify everything, and put the troops into motion again.

At the widely-known and hospitable monastery of the Chartreux, which Bonaparte reached on the 20th, he remained an hour to refresh; and each soldier, as he passed, received a large ration of bread and cheese and a cup of wine, provided with the money sent for that purpose, as already stated, from Paris.

Lannes, with the vanguard, which was unencumbered, had passed on the 16th, and the same day had descended to the vale of Aosta, and taken possession of the village of that name, the ample provisions and pleasant quarters of which were highly acceptable. The next morning this division resumed its march, which proved little less difficult to the infantry, and more so to the cavalry, than had been the ascent. The horses and mules had to be led, and the guns slid down steep and slippery paths, some of them, at first view, appearing to be scarcely better than perpendicular glaciers. Many of the men performed parts of the journey seated in sledges, similar to those used for transporting the cannon. Towards evening, on the 17th, Lannes reached Chatillon, where he encountered and routed an Austrian corps of four or five thousand men; "who," Mr. Lockhart says, "received the onset of a French division, in that quarter, with

THE ALBAREDO.

about as much surprise as if an enemy had dropped on them from the clouds."

Every obstacle seemed now to be overcome. The army was threading a beautiful valley, full of pleasant houses and verdant enclosures, and bright with the genial influence of spring weather, when suddenly the progress of the vanguard was checked by a discharge from the cannon of Fort Bard: a castle placed upon a rugged conical rock rising from the torrent stream of the Doria, which flows through a defile about fifty yards in width, girt in, on either side, by precipitous and seemingly inaccessible heights. Some engineer-officers approached to reconnoitre; but reported that the only practicable road lay through the town of St. Bard, which was strongly walled and commanded by the guns of the fortress. At night, Lannes attempted to carry the fortifications by assault; but the attacking party being driven back with some loss, a panic seized the vanguard, which was rapidly communicated through the whole army; and orders were given for stopping the descent of the artillery. Napoleon, who had already reached Aosta, immediately hastened forward, and found the troops in great confusion. Hastily surveying the road, he perceived a goat-track up the rock of Albaredo, hitherto trodden by only the chamois and its pursuer. By this dangerous route he climbed the mountain, when, lying down in the long grass upon its summit, and resting his telescope upon the edge of a precipice, he soon ascertained the possibility of taking the town for the passage of the artillery, and of accelerating the advance of the army in another direction. A single gun was raised, with the utmost difficulty, to the plateau of the Albaredo; and the moment this was got in position to play upon the bastion of St. Bard, so as to create a diversion in favour of the French, orders were given that the infantry and cavalry, in single file, should ascend the mountain-path explored by Napoleon, and so pass on to Ivrea, out of the reach of the enemy's cannon. As the soldiers crept one by one along the edge of the rock, each paused for a moment to gaze on the bronzed features of the Chief, who, exhausted with fatigue, had laid himself down, and was fast asleep on the summit of the mountain.

At nightfall, Colonel Dufour at the head of the 58th demi-brigade scaled the wall of St. Bard, and fell so impetuously upon the

SAINT BARD.

defenders, that they retreated in confusion to the castle, leaving the town in possession of the assailants. The garrison of the fortress for some hours kept up a heavy fire upon the houses ; but finding that the French were not to be dislodged, and that the mischief wrought by their cannonade fell chiefly upon the friendly inhabitants, they at length desisted. The artillery was then hastily remounted, the wheels of the carriages were bound with straw, the guns and ammunition train covered with boughs of trees, and the streets littered with loose earth and dung, so that no sound should betray the passage to the

troops within ; the fortress and the cannons and waggons were then drawn, in profound silence, through the town of St. Bard. So little precaution had been taken to keep up a communication with the town that, although, as Sir Walter Scott observes, " a light shewn in a window would have served to detect the stratagem," and the whole

IVREA.—CHIUSELLA.

proceeding took place within pistol-shot of the castle, the garrison entertained not the least suspicion of what was going forward; and the next day, the Commandant despatched a messenger to Melas, who was then engaged with Suchet, upon the southern frontier of France, to inform him of the advance of a large French army by the goat-tracts of the Albaredo; but assuring him that no artillery was with them, and that none should be suffered to pass. Had proper vigilance been used, the resistance of Fort Bard, the importance of which had been under-rated in forming the plan of the campaign, might have rendered fruitless the passage of St. Bernard.

Leaving a brigade of Conscripts, under General Chabran, to besiege this dangerous little fort, Napoleon with his main army hastened forward to Ivrea; where, on the 24th of May, the advanced guard attacked and defeated an Austrian division of five or six thousand men, and obtained possession of the town and citadel, together with extensive stores and provisions. The enemy, intending to cover Turin, now retired to Romano, where they received large reinforcements; but, being pursued by Lannes, they were again defeated, on the 26th, with considerable slaughter, at the bridge of Chiusella, and driven in the utmost disorder towards the Piedmontese capital. The advanced guard took possession of Chivasso, seized many boats and vessels, laden with provisions and wounded men, and intercepted Melas' communications along the Po. A feint was made to construct a bridge of boats over the river, which had the effect of withdrawing a large body of troops, from the left bank of the river, to oppose Napoleon's passage on the right. This was what the First Consul desired; as it left him free to operate, without danger of molestation, upon Milan.

From the beginning of April, Massena had been strictly blockaded in Genoa; and, notwithstanding some temporary successes, his troops were reduced to the necessity of eating horses, dogs, and other unclean animals; so that unless relieved, the surrender of the city could not long be delayed. Early in May, Melas, leaving the prosecution of the siege to General Ott, had moved forward against Suchet, who maintained, with great gallantry, the defence of the passes between France and Piedmont. On the 21st, the Imperialists made a desperate effort to force the passage of the Var; but, failing

ENTRY INTO MILAN.

in this, they were, on the same day, recalled to face a more formidable antagonist than any they had lately encountered. Melas now, for the first time, received news of the movements of Napoleon. The intelligence astounded and perplexed him. The roads in his rear, his supplies and communications, were wholly at the mercy of the unexpected invader. In this dilemma, without certain information of the strength of his opponent, and believing that he was without artillery, he resolved to march against him in person, before any diversion should be effected by means of which Genoa might be relieved.

Napoleon had halted at Ivrea, to refresh his main army, after the fatigues it had undergone. In the meantime, however, detachments were sent in various directions to secure the passes of the Simplon and St. Gothard, and keep open the means of communication with France. On the 27th of May, Murat was despatched with his division across the Sesia, to operate upon Vercelli; and, news having reached the First Consul, that Moncey, with fifteen thousand men, who had been ordered to advance from the Army of the Rhine, had debouched by the St. Gothard, he himself, on the 31st, while Melas was marching to the defence of Turin, moved rapidly towards the Ticino, a wide and rapid river, six or seven leagues westward of Milan, which, after a sharp conflict with some straggling troops left in that quarter as corps of observation, was passed on the 1st of June, in four small boats, there being no bridge, and the army being without pontoon trains. On the 2nd, Napoleon entered Milan, amid the general rejoicings of the inhabitants; who, having heard that he had perished in the Red Sea, and that the First Consul was one of his Brothers, were surprised and delighted once more to see him amongst them at the head of his "liberating" troops. That most of the Italians wished well to the cause of their invader, there cannot be a doubt. The liberal institutions which he had given them during his first campaign, had been destroyed by Austria; and all who had exhibited any zeal in supporting or defending them, now languished in distant dungeons. The taxes had been rendered more oppressive than formerly, and thought and expression put under more jealous and severe restraint.

Napoleon immediately reorganized the Cisalpine Republic, and

PROCLAMATION.

addressed the following proclamation to his army:—"Soldiers! One of our departments was in the power of the enemy. Consternation reigned over the whole of the South of France. The greater part of the Ligurian territory was invaded. The Cisalpine Republic was annihilated, and consigned to a ridiculous feudal domination. You have marched, and the French territory is already free! Apprehension is succeeded by joy in our country.

"You are in the Capital of the Cisalpine! The enemy, panic-stricken, hope only to regain the frontiers. You have taken from them their stores, their magazines, and reserves of artillery. The

first act of the campaign is ended. Millions of men daily manifest their gratitude to you. March now to meet those soldiers who have carried terror into your families—oppose their retreat—snatch from them the laurels with which they have decked themselves; and thus teach the world, that a malediction rests upon all madmen who dare to insult the GREAT NATION! The result of your efforts will be unclouded glory and solid peace."

On the second day after the occupation of Milan, a spy, who had

ITALIAN SPY.

formerly been serviceable to Napoleon, sent his name, and a request to be admitted to an interview. "How is it you are not yet shot?" exclaimed the First Consul, as the man entered his apartment. "General," said the spy, "when the war recommenced, and you were far from Europe, I entered the service of Austria. I always attach myself to the fortunate, having found my account in doing so. Now, however, I wish to make up my little fortune, leave off this dangerous life, and pass the rest of my days in tranquillity. I am sent into your lines by Melas, but have it in my power to render you important service. You are sufficiently strong to impart to me some real information, which I can convey to my employer; and in return I will inform you of the positions of the enemy." The First Consul accepted the offer, learned the names, number, and positions of all the Austrian forces, and that Melas himself was at Alessandria, which was not provisioned, and where there were many sick and wounded, and a scarcity of medicines prevailed. A note was given to the spy, informing him, with tolerable accuracy, of the strength and positions of the French; and Napoleon promised that, if his information proved correct, he should be rewarded with a thousand louis—which, it may be added, was faithfully paid after the battle of Marengo; Melas, in the meantime, having also paid him liberally for the intelligence brought from the French camp. The First Consul regarded the services of this man as one of the favours of Fortune.

Bonaparte remained six days at Milan, making dispositions for the prosecution of the campaign, and directing the different corps of his army upon the points he desired them to occupy. Lannes took possession of Pavia, where he found large stores and two hundred guns, among which were thirty field-pieces. Duhesme took possession of Lodi; and while a portion of his troops invested Pizzighitone, another portion pressed forward to Cremona and Mantua, neither of which had provisions or garrison. Murat, about the same time, seized Placenza, with the bridge of boats there over the Po, and intercepted a courier bearing despatches from the Aulic Council at Vienna to Melas. The information thus obtained shewed how utterly unprepared was the Austrian government for the bold step which had placed the North of Italy once more in the hands of Bonaparte. The very existence of the Army of Reserve was still denied; and

EVACUATION OF GENOA.

Melas was directed to press forward with vigour into the heart of Provence, in order to compel the recall of the Army of the Rhine, which was rapidly advancing into Germany.

Napoleon, anxious to relieve Genoa, now detached a division of Moncey's corps to line the Po from Pavia to the Doria, with orders to watch the motions of the enemy, a large body of whom had just appeared before Placenza, while he should move forward upon Stradella, on the right bank of the Po, in order to prevent Melas from reaching Milan, and there compel him to a battle with his line of operation intersected. In the midst of these preparations, news arrived of the surrender of Genoa by Massena. This city had sustained the blockade till the inhabitants, pressed by famine, had become tumultuous, demanded "Bread or Death!" and threatened to rise *en masse*, and open the gates to the enemy. In the sorties made by the beleaguered army, the French had never displayed more gallantry. On one occasion, a desperate attack was led by Soult: the soldiers selected for that purpose were those of two regiments, which, from the circumstance that one had been employed to disarm the other during the period of military insubordination that marked the last days of the Directory, had sworn enmity to each other. In the excitement under which they now met, their animosity was instantly forgotten, and a spirit of generous rivalry took its place. In the contest the soldiers became intermingled: they embraced each other in the midst of the fire, and half of each corps passing into the ranks of the other, the fight was renewed with double ardour. But neither their courage, nor the enthusiasm with which they were inspired on learning that the First Consul was near them in person, could allay the hunger which assailed them. Everything eatable had been devoured—even to the shoes and knapsacks of the men, and the saddles, girths, and harness of the horses: and at length Massena was compelled to listen to overtures for a conference with General Ott and Lord Keith, the British Admiral who guarded the harbour. It was almost at the moment when this conference was fixed, that Ott received the command of Melas to raise the blockade, and fall back upon the Po. Had Massena held out, therefore, but a few hours longer, his relief would have been certain. In such circumstances, the terms of evacuation were not a matter of great importance.

MONTEBELLO.

The word "capitulation" was omitted, and the troops were permitted to march out of Genoa with arms and baggage, and to proceed, without their General, who with sixteen hundred men was sent round by sea to Antibes, to the head-quarters of General Suchet, which was then advanced as far as Voltri. By this proceeding, Melas procured a reinforcement of eighteen thousand effective men; and Napoleon was proportionately embarrassed as to his future operations.

The vanguard under Lannes had already crossed the Po, when the news of the fall of Genoa was received. A large body of Austrians, being the army of General Ott, disengaged by the capitulation of Massena, had come up by forced marches, and on the 10th of June occupied the villages of Montebello and Casteggio. Lannes, whose division consisted of not more than eight thousand men, on observing the strength of the enemy, manoeuvred to avoid an engagement till he should receive reinforcements; but Ott, conscious of his superiority, was resolved to force him to immediate conflict, and, at day-break on the 11th, attacked him in his position. The battle was obstinate and bloody, and for some hours victory appeared to incline to the Austrians, whose cavalry was good and numerous, and the field favourable for their operations. About noon, when the troops of Lannes began to be exhausted, and scarcely able to sustain the charges incessantly directed against them, the division of General Victor came to their aid, and after a severe struggle turned the tide of battle. The fields were covered with tall crops of rye and other grain, so that the hostile battalions frequently found themselves at the point of each other's bayonet before they were aware of the proximity of any but friends; a circumstance which prevented the Generals from displaying much science, and rendered the slaughter greater than usual, the contest being maintained by physical exertion—man to man. "Bones crashed like hailstones against windows," and the plain was literally strewn with dead bodies. At length the Austrians were broken, and compelled to a precipitate retreat, leaving three thousand killed and six thousand prisoners upon the field. Napoleon, having heard of the enemy's attack, crossed the Po, and was hastening to the spot, when the Austrians fled. Lannes was covered with blood, and the soldiers were too much exhausted to be able to join in a vigorous pursuit of the retreating foe.

It was in the morning of the battle of Montebello that Desaix, who had just returned from Egypt, reached the head-quarters of the First Consul, bringing with him news of the capitulation of El-Arisch, and the disasters of the French army. Napoleon considered Desaix second only, as a military commander, to himself. His campaign in Upper Egypt was one of the most brilliant the French army had achieved. He loved and emulated Bonaparte, without desiring to become his rival. "Whatever rank you assign me," he said, in a letter addressed from Toulon to the First Consul, "I shall be satisfied. I neither wish nor aspire to first command; but shall serve with equal pleasure as a volunteer or a general. Let me, therefore, know my destination immediately, that I may not lose an instant. A day not well employed, is a day lost." Napoleon at once appointed him to the command of the division of Boudet, who had been killed in a previous engagement. The high opinion which Bonaparte had of Desaix's talents, and the esteem which he entertained for his person, may be inferred from the enthusiasm with which he received him. "On my return to Paris," he said, when Desaix had retired from his tent in the evening, after a long and close conversation, "I will make him Minister at War. He shall be next in place and power to myself. I would make him a prince, if I were able. He is of the heroic mould of antiquity."

The French army being now concentrated at Stradella, the First Consul was anxious to come at once to a decisive engagement, before

PLAIN OF MARENGO.

the Austrians should be joined by the English army, already collected at Port Mahon. He never contemplated that the perplexity of Melas would have kept the latter inactive at Alessandria, while so much might have been done to render his situation dangerous to the enemy. Had he moved upon the Ticino, he might have recovered Milan, intersected the line of the French army, and forced Napoleon back, at disadvantage, upon the Adda: or, by falling back to Genoa, there was the prospect of being able to crush Suchet, and take up a position where the English fleet could supply him with provisions, ammunition, and reinforcements; or, in case of necessity, carry him round by sea into Tuscany, and enable him to operate upon Mantua, and re-establish his communications with Germany. Calculating that one of these movements was about to be made, either of which would have rendered Napoleon's position critical, the French General, on the 12th, advanced with his main army upon the Scrivia, in order to be able to act as circumstances might require; and in the evening of that day took post at Tortona, without having discovered any other signs of an enemy than a few cavalry scouts, which indicated rather the escape of Melas than his presence in the neighbourhood.

At day-break on the 13th, Napoleon passed the Scrivia, and marched to St. Julian, in the midst of the great plain of Marengo, not doubting that, if Melas were at hand, he would take advantage of this fine field, which afforded such scope for cavalry operations, to give battle. Still, however, there was no appearance of an Austrian force; and Bonaparte's fear that the enemy had eluded him, grew into conviction. Under the impression that the Austrians were marching towards Genoa, or manœuvring to cross the Po, the First Consul immediately ordered Lapoype to fall back upon the Ticino, to prevent the enemy from occupying the left bank of that river; and despatched Desaix with the Reserve to Novi, to observe the roads there, and interrupt the advance of troops towards the sea. At the same time, Victor, being ordered to enter the village of Marengo, and ascertain if Melas had any bridge upon the Bormida, attacked there an Austrian outpost of four or five thousand men, and speedily routed them, taking two guns and a hundred prisoners. The moment after this engagement, the division of Chabran, which had been left to operate along the Po, opposite Valenza, in order to prevent the

POSITION OF MELAS.

passage of the Austrians, arrived in the plain, and were greeted with an enthusiastic welcome by their elated countrymen. In the evening,

the Bormida was reconnoitred; the scouts on their return reporting that there was no bridge, and that Alessandria contained merely an ordinary garrison. At night, the corps of Lannes bivouacked in the rear of Marengo.

Napoleon was exceedingly anxious and uneasy, and rode after sunset to Torri di Garafola, to obtain intelligence of the movements of Melas, from the scouts which had been sent forward on the 12th in the direction of Genoa: but no information reached him, and he remained in the same uncertainty as on the preceding day.

Melas, meanwhile, whose army had not recovered from the panic of Montebello, was agitated by the most gloomy forebodings. Suchet was close behind him, and had been successful in several encounters with his rear guard. Napoleon, with the *Army of Reserve*, which a few days before had been an object of derision, was opposed to him in front, and, having advanced into the plain, menaced an immediate attack. A council of war was, therefore, held on the morning of the 13th, to determine what should be done; and after much discussion, in which all present agreed in casting the blame

POSITION OF MELAS.

of their present difficult position upon the Austrian cabinet which had misled them as to the proceedings of Napoleon, it was resolved to give battle next morning, cut their way, if possible, through the French army, and, reaching Mantua, open a passage for supplies and reinforcements from Vienna. The chances of victory were still greatly in favour of the Austrians, who, notwithstanding their losses before Genoa, at Montebello, and in the various skirmishes which had taken place since the commencement of the campaign, were far superior in numbers to the French; their cavalry being upwards of three to one. Melas could muster on the spot, above fifty thousand effective men: Napoleon not more than twenty-eight or thirty thousand, including the division of Desaix. The decision of the council, when communicated to the troops, afforded general satisfaction; and the Austrian army was, therefore, at once concentrated in front of Alessandria, with nothing but the Bormida and a small portion of the plain of Marengo between it and the foe.

At dawn, on the morning of the 14th, the Austrians defiled across the river, by three temporary bridges, the construction of which had been strangely overlooked by the French scouts on the preceding evening. Their left column, consisting of cavalry and light infantry, made a detour round Castel Ceriolo to outflank the French right: the centre and right advanced rapidly on Marengo, and commenced the battle by a furious cannonade on the position of General Victor. The armies were within a short distance of each other; the guns of the tirailleurs on either side nearly touched across a narrow ravine, the channel of a rivulet near the village: the fire of the cannon and musketry could not fail, therefore, to spread on every side devastation and death. For two hours, Victor singly withstood the assaults of the immeasurably superior force opposed to him; but at length his soldiers, thinned and dispirited, were compelled to give way. The report of the enemy's artillery was the first intimation the First Consul received of this unexpected engagement. A fleet messenger was instantly despatched to require the immediate return of Desaix, who was nearly half a day's journey distant on the road to Genoa; then, galloping forward, Bonaparte arrived at the scene of action about ten o'clock. Marengo was already in possession of the Austrians; and the soldiers who had been driven thence were flying in

MARENGO.

the utmost disorder along the plain, spreading alarm as they ran, and exclaiming in dismay, "All is lost!"

Steadily advancing, the Austrians now attacked General Lannes, who was still posted in the rear of Marengo. Napoleon ordered the battalion of cavalry guard, consisting of eight hundred of the best soldiers in the army, to station themselves about a thousand yards behind that General, inclining to the right, in a position to keep the enemy in check. General St. Cyr at the same time received orders to extend his line towards Castel Ceriolo, so as to flank the Austrian left; while Bonaparte himself with the 72nd demi-brigade hastened to the support of Lannes. In the midst of the conflict, the almost overpowered and disheartened soldiers perceived, advancing on the plain, their invincible leader, surrounded by his staff and by the furred caps of the brave grenadiers of the Guard. Shouts of joy ascended amid the roar of artillery, and the sinking hearts of the men were reanimated for the doubtful strife. Even the fugitives of Victor's division rallied at the sight, and were enabled to form again before St. Julian, in the rear of Lannes' impenetrable corps. At this moment, however, the column which had been sent by Melas round Castel Ceriolo, fell upon the right flank of the French, and Lannes was compelled to retreat; but so slowly, and with such admirable coolness and order, that it occupied three hours to drive him three quarters of a league, though during the whole time he was assailed by an immensely superior force, and frequently exposed to the grape-shot of eighty pieces of cannon. Four times during this retreat were the French advancing, and as often retrograding. Upwards of sixty pieces of cannon were taken and retaken; and more than twelve distinct charges of cavalry were sustained.

Just before three o'clock, about ten thousand horse and foot charged Napoleon's right flank, in which, "as a redoubt of granite," were stationed the Consular Guards. Cavalry, infantry, artillery, every stratagem and effort, were directed against this brave battalion, but in vain: as fast as the men in the front ranks fell, their places were supplied by undaunted comrades, and the phalanx remained firm and unbroken. This gallant resistance kept the enemy's left in check, while Monnier, with the advanced guard of Desaix' division, which had just returned from Novi, pushed across the plain to the village

RETREAT OF THE FRENCH.

of Castel Ceriolo, which the Austrians, when they passed it in the morning, had neglected to occupy in sufficient force, and carried the position at the point of the bayonet.

In the meantime, the left and centre of the French line, no longer able to maintain their ground against the overwhelming charges of cavalry which continued to be directed against them, were thrown into disorder, and began a precipitate retreat. The enemy then advanced in line, sweeping the field before them, with a deadly shower of grape-shot from upwards of a hundred cannon. The whole plain was covered with a panic-stricken and disorganized multitude, flying, unconscious whither, to avoid the murderous pursuit of the Austrian cavalry. The battle seemed inevitably lost. So certain was Melas of victory, that, leaving the pursuit to General Zach, he now returned to Alessandria, to obtain some repose, after the long and fatiguing exertions he had undergone, and which his great age—he was

ARRIVAL OF DESAIX.

eighty-four—rendered necessary. At this critical moment, the corps of Desaix arrived at St. Julian, to which the Austrian hussars had approached, within pistol shot. Desaix, himself, riding up to Napoleon, exclaimed, "This, General, appears to be a battle lost!" "Nay," said the First Consul, "it is a battle won. Push forward your column, while I rally the disordered troops, which you see, in your rear." The intrepid General, at the head of the 9th brigade, instantly rushed on to the attack, and charged the Austrian column with such impetuosity, that it was driven back in the utmost disorder.

Bonaparte seized the fortunate interval to gallop through the field, calling upon the flying soldiers to re-form, and advance. "Recollect, my sons," he exclaimed, "it is my custom to sleep on the field of battle. You have now retired far enough." The men responded to

his call with enthusiasm, amid shouts of "Vive la République! Vive Bonaparte!" The corps of Lannes and Victor were speedily in order

DEATH OF DESAIX.

again, burning with impatience to renew the contest, and obliterate the disgrace of their flight.

The whole army was drawn up, as rapidly as possible, in new line of battle, before St. Julian, with the cavalry concentrated in advance. Innumerable balls and shells were poured into the village; and a column, of six thousand of Zach's grenadiers, endeavoured to penetrate to the left. The First Consul perceiving this movement, instantly sent orders to Desaix to repulse them; when he, advancing for that purpose, at the head of two hundred troopers, received a ball in the breast, at the moment he had given the word to charge. Young Lebrun, the son of the Third Consul, is said to have received the dying words of the hero. "Go, tell Napoleon," he said, "that I die with regret, since I have achieved nothing worthy to live in the remembrance of posterity." It was in the midst of the hottest fire of the day, that the First Consul heard the heavy tidings of his loss. Of

CAPTURE OF ZACH.

all the generals of the army, he was the best beloved, and the most esteemed. "Why," bitterly exclaimed Bonaparte, when his death was announced to him, "is it not permitted me to weep!" The troops, however, were not disconcerted by the fall of their favourite chief, but rushed on, with redoubled fury, to avenge his death. The 9th demi-brigade acquitted themselves in this onset so as to merit their subsequent title of *Incomparable*. General Kellerman, who, with a brigade of heavy cavalry, had ably protected the retreat of the French left, now hastened to support the corps of Desaix, charging with such vigour and precision into the enemy's column, that, after a struggle of less than half an hour's duration, in which the opposing soldiers fought man to man, the Austrian grenadiers, wearied with the long day's conflict, and disordered by the suddenness of the assault, were routed with great slaughter, and General Zach, with his staff, were taken prisoners. The whole army instantly followed up the

VICTORY.

movement, and carried universal consternation into the enemy's ranks. Eight or ten thousand of the Austrian cavalry, fearing that St. Cyr, who was on their right, and nearer than themselves to the bridges of the Bormida, might arrive there in time to cut off the retreat across the river, instead of forming to protect the flight of the infantry, turned their horses' heads, and scoured the plain at full gallop, overthrowing and trampling on all that opposed or impeded their career, friend or foe. The confusion was such, that those who reached the bridges were so crowded and wedged together, as to be unable to pass. "Hundreds were drowned: the river rolled red amidst the corpses of men and horses, while whole corps were compelled to surrender." It was ten at night, before the Austrian General was able to rally the remains of his magnificent army, which in the morning had poured into the plain, so confident of a fortunate termination to the labours of the day.

The trophies of this brilliant and decisive victory were fifteen standards, forty pieces of cannon, and between six and eight thousand prisoners. The Austrians left upon the field about six thousand killed. The loss of the French was six hundred killed, and fifteen hundred wounded, among whom were three generals. Had Desaix been spared, Napoleon's triumph would have been complete and unalloyed; but the remembrance of his fate overclouded all. "Had I been able this evening," said the First Consul, when congratulated on his success, at the close of the day; while, notwithstanding his previously affected stoicism, tears started to his eyes; "had I been able to embrace Desaix upon the field of battle, the day would indeed have been glorious." Desaix is reported to have had a presentiment of coming evil, when he joined the headquarters of Bonaparte three days before; and, on the evening preceding the battle, he said to more than one of his Aides-de-camp, "It is so long since we fought in Europe, that the balls have forgotten us. Something will certainly happen."

The apprehension and despair of the Austrians, during the ensuing night, were great beyond description. Napoleon was on the banks of the Bormida, and Suchet in their rear; while no means of retreat were left them but the road to the Alps and the frontiers of France, where, followed by a victorious army, they could scarcely hope for advantage.

CONVENTION.

In this desperate situation, Melas at once resolved to attempt, by negotiation, to save the wreck of his army. Early in the morning of the 15th, therefore, Prince Lichtenstein was sent to the French headquarters with proposals. Napoleon declared his willingness to grant an armistice, and to allow the Austrians to retire by the most direct road behind Mantua, with their arms and baggage, on condition that the fortresses of Italy were immediately surrendered to France. The Prince remonstrated against these conditions. The First Consul put an end to all argument on the subject: "Carry my irrevocable resolves to your General, and return quickly," he said. "Know that I am not a soldier of yesterday, but am perfectly acquainted with your situation: you are blockaded in Alessandria, with many sick and wounded, and in want of provisions and medicines. Your choicest soldiers are lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners. My position authorizes me to demand more than I have asked; but I moderate my claims in respect for the grey hairs of your commander, whom I honour." The surrender of Genoa was the hardest condition of all. Its severity may be the more readily conceived, when it is considered that the same post carried to Vienna the news of its capture and restitution. The terms of the Convention, which was signed the same evening by Berthier and Melas, were more favourable to the latter than they might otherwise have been, because Napoleon was anxious to obtain possession of Genoa before the British army, twenty thousand strong, which he knew to be on its way to that city, should reach the harbour; and because the French had no strong positions in Italy, to enable them to sustain any reverse, which the landing of the English would have rendered highly probable.

On the night of the 15th, Bonaparte, with a portion of his staff, passed over the field of the recent battle; the dead bodies, which there had not been time to inter, still strewing the ground. The moon shone brightly over the plain; and, in the deep silence, a dog leaped suddenly from his dead master's side, whined and howled piteously, and returned to his resting place, alternately licking his master's hands and face, and turning to gaze upon the horsemen before him, as if to implore their compassion and aid. When he afterwards related this anecdote to Las Cases, Napoleon remarked that, whether owing to his own turn of mind at the moment, the time, the place, or

RETURN TO MILAN.

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the action itself, no incident on any field of battle had ever impressed him so deeply. "I involuntarily stopped," he said, "to contemplate the scene, and could not forbear ejaculating, 'This man has doubtless friends in the Austrian camp; yet here he lies forsaken by all, except his dog!' I had, without emotion, ordered battles that were to decide the fate of armies, and beheld, with tearless eyes, the execution of those operations by which numbers of my countrymen were slain: why, therefore, were my feelings then harrowed by the mournful wailing of a dog? At that moment I should have been easily moved by a suppliant enemy; and could well understand the feelings of Achilles when he gave up the body of Hector at sight of Priam's tears."

After two days spent at Marengo, in making the arrangements rendered necessary by the Convention with Melas, Napoleon returned to Milan, which he entered on the evening of the 17th, and found the city illuminated, and a scene of the most animated public rejoicings. The people felt that the Cisalpine Republic was indeed re-established, and the tyranny of Austria at an end. The popular enthusiasm was unbounded, when the carriage of the Victor appeared in the streets, with an escort of the National Guards of Milan. In a few days Genoa, surrendered by the Austrians, recovered its Republican Institutions, and, with the exception of Mantua, the whole of the former conquests of Napoleon were again in the hands of the French; who moreover took possession of Piedmont, which the Emperor of Austria,

ARRIVAL IN PARIS.

notwithstanding the remonstrances of Russia, had not restored to the King of Sardinia, when Italy had been wrested from its original conquerors. The Italian patriots, who had been consigned to German dungeons for their political opinions, now returned home, according to a stipulation in the late Convention, amidst the congratulations of their countrymen, and loud cries of "*Viva il Liberatore dell' Italia!*"

After appointing Provisional governments in the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics, and in Piedmont, of which last Jourdan was placed at the head, and having restored the suppressed University of Pavia, and nominated Massena, who had gone to Milan immediately after the battle of Marengo, Commander-in-chief of the Army of Italy, the First Consul, on the 24th of June, set out on his return to Paris. He passed through Turin, and over Mount Cenis, to Lyons; where, to gratify the inhabitants of that city, he was constrained to stay for two days, in order to lay the first stone of the *Place Bellecour*, on the site of a splendid square which had been destroyed by the Jacobins during the Reign of Terror. The immense concourse of persons who were present on the occasion, and the enthusiasm which animated all classes, rendered the ceremony exceedingly imposing and sublime. Every where, as the Conqueror proceeded, the people appeared to be delirious with joy. At Dijon he was met by a procession of young females, crowned with garlands and strewing flowers in the road—a sight which must have been grateful to him, as recalling the impressive triumphs of ancient Greece and Rome.

Napoleon reached Paris at midnight, between the 2nd and 3rd of July, having been absent rather less than two months. As soon as his arrival was known, the inhabitants of the city and suburbs, leaving their occupations, ran in crowds to the courts, gardens, and quays around the Tuileries, to obtain a glimpse of the man to whom France was again indebted for independence from foreign domination. Thanksgivings were offered in the churches; shouts of welcome and congratulation resounded on every side; and at night every house was illuminated: rich and poor, of whatever party or faction in the State, taking part in the general rejoicings. "It was a day," says Mr. Hazlitt, "like which few occur in history; yet, in this instance, how many such were crowded into the life of a single man!" The

MILITARY REWARDS.

exuberant delight which was manifested arose not from a mere love of external display. The fête was no pageant proclaimed by government, but a spontaneous tribute of the people—universal and sincere—to their preserver. Nor was Napoleon insensible to the homage paid him. “The sound of these still continued acclamations,” he said, “is sweet to me as the voice of Josephine. How proud, how happy I am, to be beloved by such a people!”

The popular joy was the greater, perhaps, because the people had been prepared for other tidings than victory. The first account of the battle that reached Paris was taken by a commercial traveller, who quitted the field of Marengo between ten and twelve o'clock, on the 14th of June, just as Napoleon had arrived on the ground, and when a portion of the army was flying in disorder before the Austrians: intelligence which was magnified into reports of certain defeat. It is said, that upon this news the enemies of the First Consul set on foot an intrigue to remove him from the government, and to elevate Carnot in his place. It is certain, from a letter of Lucien Bonaparte, who was then in Paris, that some sinister designs were in agitation; and that had Bonaparte, like Desaix, been stretched upon the plain of Marengo, his friends would have been almost instantly proscribed. The knowledge of these things makes us look with less severity upon the restrictions Napoleon sometimes imposed upon the people; and which have been frequently represented as springing from a hatred of freedom.

One of the Chief Consul's first acts was, to render to his companions in arms their share of the honours which had been won in the campaign. Kellerman was appointed general of division. To Lannes, Murat, Victor, Watrin, and Gardanne, honorary sabres were awarded, inscribed, “Battle of Marengo, First Consul commanding in person: presented by the Government of the Republic.” Numerous promotions were made, and swords and marks of distinction distributed among the officers and men of every regiment which had been distinguished at Marengo, or under the command of Moreau in the Army of the Rhine—the soldiers of the latter being prudently included in the list of those to whom rewards were due. A private soldier, named Latour d'Auvergne, who had rendered essential service on the field, and refused all personal advancement, was gratified with

FUNERAL OF DESAIX.

the title of "FIRST GRENADIER OF THE REPUBLIC." This brave man was slain a month or two afterwards in Germany, and was honoured with a public eulogium by Carnot. His name is still at the head of the muster-roll of the French Grenadiers; and when called over, some veteran in the ranks replies, "Dead on the field of honour!"

The body of Desaix, after being embalmed at Milan, was conveyed to Mont St. Bernard for interment, where a monument was afterwards erected to his memory. He was borne to the earth by soldiers who had served under him, and was honoured by their tears. He fell at the age of thirty-three. A spot, at the junction of two roads on the

field of Marengo, is sometimes pointed out to travellers as the grave of the hero: but this is a mistake—arising from the fact that a pillar, since removed, was once erected there as a trophy of the victory.

The 14th of July was one of the great festivals of the Republic. On this occasion, the Senate and State Council desired publicly to celebrate the victory of Marengo. In the Temple of Mars, which had been fitted up for the occasion, Lucien Bonaparte pronounced a glowing eulogium on the Republican troops, and felicitated the people

CONSULAR GUARD.

Vendemiaire, when we shall be required to celebrate the anniversary of the foundation of the Republic, the French people expect, either the proclamation of peace, or, if the enemy oppose invincible obstacles to such a result, more standards, the fruits of new victories."

Mehul's military hymn followed this courteous and politic harangue; which was interrupted, ere long, by the cheers of the populace without, announcing the arrival of the Consular Guard from the plains of Marengo. This was the most impressive scene of all the ceremonies of the day. Napoleon was speedily on horseback, in the Champ-de-Mars, to honour the brave men who were anxious to pass in his presence. The review was not an ordinary one. They were no soldiers in holiday uniform; but men, hurried from the field of battle on the morning after action, worn down with the fatigues of a long march, bronzed by the summer sun of Italy, and presenting scarred faces, battered arms, and torn and soiled accoutrements.

CHAPTER XII.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE BOURBONS — DEATH OF KLEBER — NEGOCIATIONS WITH AUSTRIA, ENGLAND, AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA — CONSPIRACIES — PARALLEL. 1800.

EBRUN, the Third Consul, during the preceding month of March, had received, through the Abbé Montesquiou, the Paris agent for the Bourbons, a letter from the Count de Lille (afterwards Louis XVIII.), addressed to Napoleon, which was couched in the following terms:—“In whatever light their conduct may appear, superficially, brave men like you, General, never inspire distrust. You have accepted an eminent station, and know better than any one else that influence and power are requisite to secure the happiness of a great nation. Save France from her own madness, and you will have fulfilled the first wish of my heart. Restore to that country her King; and future generations will bless your memory. You will always be too necessary to the State, to apprehend that your services will be insufficiently requited by appointments for yourself or your friends.”

To this letter no answer had, at first, been given. Napoleon, perhaps, was willing to see the result of the Italian campaign before

he decided. The most influential of the Royalists would thus be held in suspense as to his intentions, and the gradual revival of monarchical forms would naturally be approved by them as indications favourable to their views. It is said that Josephine and Hortense strongly urged him to hold out hopes of a restoration; alleging that he might reserve for himself a far higher recompence, and take a loftier character than that of Monk, the restorer of Charles the Second. The First Consul, however, was deaf to all entreaties on the subject; and Marengo decided his career. Louis, however, was not to be silently repulsed. On Napoleon's return to Paris, he wrote a second letter, in which he expressed himself more strongly:—"You must be aware, General," he said, "that you have long possessed my esteem. If you doubt my gratitude, name your place, and the fortunes you desire for your friends. For me, I am a Frenchman, clement by disposition, and not lacking experience. The Victor of Lodi, Castiglione, Arcola, the Conqueror of Egypt and Italy, cannot prefer a vain celebrity to glory. Why, then, lose precious time, when we have it in our power to secure the glory of France? I say *we*, because for that end I require the aid of General Bonaparte, and he can accomplish nothing without me. General! Europe observes you; glory awaits you; and I am impatient to restore happiness to my people." The Count d'Artois (subsequently Charles X.), in order to second the efforts of his brother, despatched from London the beautiful and accomplished Duchess de Guiche, whose fascinations it was believed might ensnare him whom courtly promises were not so well calculated to affect. This Lady, who pretended to have private business of importance as the object of her journey to Paris, procured an introduction to Josephine, and was invited to breakfast at the palace. She appears to have divulged her errand prematurely, and with less address and delicacy than was expected from her great talents. "Happening," she said, "a few days since, to be at the house of the Count d'Artois, I heard some one ask the Prince what were his intentions with respect to the First Consul, in the event of his restoring the Bourbons to the throne of France? 'I would immediately make him Constable of the Kingdom,' replied the Count, 'and he should have whatever else he might choose. Independently of which, we would raise on the Place du Carrousel

THE BOURBONS.

a lofty and magnificent column, surmounted with a statue of Bonaparte crowning the Bourbons.”—“You might have replied,” said Napoleon sternly, “that the corpse of the First Consul would have been made the pedestal of the column.” The Duchess was not disconcerted, but used all the arts of eloquent flattery and enchanting grace and beauty to ingratiate herself with the “distinguished man and immortal hero,” whom she wished to bow to her will. Her object, however, was too palpable at first sight; and she received orders to quit France. At the same time, in order that there might remain no motive for similar intrigues, Napoleon sent the following answer to the Count de Lille:—“I have received your letter; and thank you for the honourable mention which you have made of me therein. I have always felt deep interest in your misfortunes and in those of your family: but you must not think of appearing in France. Your march would be over a hundred thousand dead bodies. I shall, however, be always anxious to do everything that may tend to alleviate the hardship of your destiny, and make you forget your misfortunes.”

At the intercession of the Court of Berlin, the First Consul not only consented to permit such members of the Royal Family as chose to do so, to reside in the Prussian dominions, without molestation, but to allow them an annual pension for their maintenance, out of the revenues of the Republic, on the guarantee of the King of Prussia that no attempt should be made to create disturbances in France. Josephine continued, for a time, to entreat for the exiled Bourbons, foreseeing probably that the elevation to which Napoleon aspired, would involve her, if not himself, in ruin; but she was eventually silenced. “My part is taken,” said her austere Lord: “do you mind your knitting, and leave me to act.”

It was at this period, that news arrived of the death of Kleber, in Egypt. The despatch, by which it was communicated, reached the Tuileries at two o'clock in the morning; and on reading it Bonaparte immediately exclaimed, “Egypt is lost!” The First Consul had no great affection for Kleber, who was a thorough Republican, and a confirmed grumbler, although his talents and courage were unquestionable, and he was sincerely attached to the interests and glory of France. Soon after Napoleon had quitted Egypt, Kleber,

DEATH OF KLEBER.

believing his position to be desperate, had signed a Convention, known as that of El Arisch, with the plenipotentiaries of the Grand Seignior, and Sir Sidney Smith on behalf of the British; by which it was agreed that the French should evacuate Egypt, and be transported in safety to France. The British Government, however, refused to ratify this Convention, alleging that Sir Sidney Smith had exceeded his authority: "but," Sir Walter Scott says, "the truth was, that the arrival of Kleber and his army in the South of France, at the very moment when the successes of Suwarrow gave strong hopes of making some impression on the frontier, might have had a most material effect upon the events of the war." Be that as it may, the treaty was broken off, and Kleber had recourse to arms, in which he was eminently successful over the great Turkish army whose approach he had so much dreaded. The Grand Vizier

AUSTRIA.—ENGLAND.

Youseff Pacha was defeated, with immense slaughter, near the ruins of Heliopolis, on the 20th of March, 1800; and shortly afterwards, an advantageous truce was concluded between the French and the daring Murad Bey, who still continued at the head of a formidable body of Mamelukes. It was at this period, while engaged in settling the internal government of Egypt, and raising native troops to recruit his army, that Kleber was struck with the poniard of a Mahometan fanatic, named Soleyman Haleby, who, taking advantage of the concealment afforded by a ruinous cistern, whence a flight of steps led to a terrace on which the General was accustomed to walk, sprung upon and despatched him at a single blow. The assassin, when apprehended, pleaded the inspiration of Heaven for delivering his country from the enemy of his Sovereign and the Prophet. The death of Kleber occurred on the same day, and almost at the same hour, in which Desaix, his friend and comrade, fell at Marengo. After this fatal event, the command of the Army of the East devolved upon Menou, who, although a good general of division, was utterly unfit for chief command. Napoleon's hopes, therefore, of preserving his oriental conquest may be said to have now expired.

Disaster in one quarter, however, served merely to quicken his energies in others. Having tranquillized France, and brought victory back to her banners, he sought to restore peace to the Republic, to re-establish her old commercial relations, and to re-produce internal prosperity. To Austria, the terms were again offered which had been accepted as the basis of the negotiations of Rastadt: while Mr. Pitt, conceiving that Marengo had dissipated the brighter hopes of the Allies, is said to have exclaimed, after tracing the positions of the Republican armies upon the map of Europe, "Fold up that map, it need not be again opened these twenty years;" and, acting on this impression, he had forwarded to the British Ambassador at Vienna instructions to intimate the readiness of England to take part in negotiations for a general pacification. This produced from Napoleon a demand for a naval armistice; which, as it would have occasioned the withdrawal of the British vessels employed in blockading the French ports and the island of Malta, and would have been otherwise exceedingly disadvantageous to England, was, after a vain attempt to procure its modification, declined. The Emperor of Austria, though

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

standing in a very different position to England, with powerful French armies, flushed with recent success, in the heart of his dominions, was, at the same time, induced, by the influence of British diplomacy and a loan of two millions sterling, to disclaim the acts of his plenipotentiary, and also to prepare for a renewal of the war.

With the United States the French negotiations were more successful; and a Convention was agreed upon, highly advantageous to both the contracting powers. A national bank, which had been previously wanting in France, was established in the interim; the Civil Code was advanced in the Council of State; and roads, buildings, and public works of all kinds were carried forward with a rapidity which, to those who had witnessed the supineness of the various governments by which the country had been afflicted for the preceding twelve years, and, indeed, much longer, seemed like the effect of enchantment. All suggestions for improvement, general or local, and whatever their nature, were acceptable to the First Consul, and had a share of his attention. "Glory, increasing and endless glory," says De Bourrienne, "was what he wished for France and for himself!"—"All that I desire—the end of all my toils," exclaimed Napoleon himself, "is that my name may be inseparably connected with that of France." In fact, his love for France, and for Fame, became an overmastering passion, absorbing all individual affections, and acquiring intensity by indulgence. "His imagination kindled at the one idea only, of seeing the Nation great and happy—the first among European States. It was the most flattering of all the dreams of his ambition that, in distant ages, his name would be identified with that of his beautiful France, and spoken of by her future generations with gratitude and reverence."

Against the government of such a man, gifted with extraordinary genius, and exercising it for the benefit of the people at large, there was little prospect of being able to succeed by fair and open hostility; recourse was, therefore, had to secret plots for assassination. The first project of this kind originated with the Jacobins, who hated Napoleon for his opposition to the wild democracy which they advocated. An association was formed, consisting of Ceracchi, an Italian sculptor; Arena, a brother of the Corsican deputy who was said to have aimed the dagger at Napoleon, in the Council of Five

CONSPIRACIES.

Hundred, on the 19th of Brumaire; Topino Lebrun, a pupil of David, the celebrated painter; Damerville, Harrel, and others of less note. Ceracchi had sculptured a bust of Bonaparte, when he resided at Montebello, during his first Italian campaign; and, on pretence of retouching the work, solicited and obtained an interview; but, at the moment for action, his heart quailed beneath the searching eye of his intended victim, and he felt it impossible to execute his purpose. The conspirators were betrayed to the police, by their accomplice Harrel; and, on the evening they had fixed for the murder, they were arrested, behind the scenes at the Opera, while Napoleon sat unmolested in his box. The First Consul treated the attempt with scorn. "I was in no real danger," he said, when entreated to bring the conspirators to justice: "the wretches had no power to commit the crime they meditated. They would have shrunk at a look from the piquet of my brave guard." The circumstances of the plot were not made public; and Napoleon was content, for the present, to detain the parties implicated in safe custody.

The second conspiracy was of a more formidable description, and more nearly effected its object. This was a contrivance of the Royalists; who, having been disappointed in their hopes concerning the restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy, endeavoured to rid themselves of the man who, having refused to become the instrument for accomplishing their object, seemed to be the most formidable obstacle to its future achievement. This plot is well known, as that of the *Infernal Machine*. A barrel of gunpowder, strongly secured in a cart, in the midst of a quantity of grape-shot and pieces of iron, was placed in the Rue St. Nicaise, in such a manner that, by means of a train or slow match, it might explode at the moment the carriage of the First Consul should pass the spot, in his way from the Tuileries to the Opera. He had appointed to be present, on the evening of the 10th of October, at the first representation of Haydn's Oratorio of 'The Creation'; and this occasion was accordingly decided upon for the assassination. When the moment for stepping into his carriage arrived, Napoleon could scarcely be induced to leave home. He had been fatigued with the business of the day, and was then reposing on a couch in Josephine's apartment. Madame Bonaparte, Berthier, Lannes, and Lauriston, however, strongly urged him to go. One

INFERNAL MACHINE.

brought his hat, another his sword, and he was partly forced to his carriage ; where, however, he almost instantly fell into a slumber, and dreamed of passing the Tagliamento, which three or four years before he had crossed by torch-light, during a flood. Suddenly he was awakened by a violent noise, like thunder, accompanied by flame, and exclaimed, " We are blown up ! " Berthier and Lannes would have instantly stopped the carriage ; but with greater presence of mind, Napoleon ordered the coachman to drive on ; and, a few seconds afterwards, they all alighted in safety at the Opera, where the

INFERNAL MACHINE.

report, which was heard for several miles round Paris, had occasioned the utmost consternation. Napoleon entered his box, with unruffled countenance, taking, as usual, the front seat, as though nothing extraordinary had occurred; and the performance proceeded. He was, probably, indebted for his escape to the intoxication of his coachman, who drove faster than usual, and thus passed the machine a second or two before the explosion, which shattered several houses on each side of the street, killing twenty and wounding fifty-three persons—among others the miscreant St. Regent, who fired the train. The coachman remained during the whole evening unconscious of what had happened, having mistaken the report for the firing of a salute.

On returning to the palace, his previously-suppressed indignation found vent. "This is the work of the Jacobins!" he exclaimed. "Neither nobles, nor priests, nor Chouans are implicated here. Since we cannot chain, we must crush this faction. France must be freed from such a pest!" The stifed bitterness with which he pronounced these words, the flashing of his eye, and the spasmodic action of his countenance, indicated the wrath in his breast. Fouché, who was unwilling that the whole weight of accusation should fall on his former partisans, endeavoured to soothe him, and to represent, that as yet there was no evidence against any one: but Bonaparte's vehemence only increased on finding an object. "Fouché," he cried, "seeks to screen his friends—a mass of men practised in bloodshed and crime! He was one of their leaders at Lyons and on the Loire."

The atrocity of the attempt excited universal horror, and gave, if possible, additional popularity to the First Consul and his government. On the day after his escape, the Prefect of the Seine, the twelve Mayors, and almost all the public functionaries of Paris, attended to congratulate him—an example which was followed by deputations and addresses from all parts of the country.

Meanwhile, however, Napoleon seemed determined to inflict summary punishment on those whom he considered guilty. A decree of the Senate was solicited and obtained, for the banishment of upwards of a hundred of the leaders of the Jacobins, the greatest portion of whom were persons who had played conspicuous parts in the *Reign of Terror*, and who were, therefore, too much hated by the populace to

PUNISHMENT OF THE CONSPIRATORS.

excite any commiseration. Their deportation, nevertheless, was only partially enforced, and several of the most obnoxious of them were suffered to live obscurely at a distance from the capital, subject to no greater restriction than the surveillance of the provincial police.

This conspiracy had the effect of bringing down the severity of justice upon Arena, Ceracchi, and their companions, who were immediately afterwards arraigned, condemned, and executed: and, at the end of little more than a month, Fouché, who had been indefatigable in his efforts to discover the plotters of the infernal machine, was enabled to report that they were in custody. At a dinner given by the drivers of fiacres to Cæsar, Napoleon's coachman, in honour of his escape, a man who was present said he had seen the cart which did the mischief issue from a stable-yard near his stand. This clue led to a full disclosure of the facts. Carbon and St. Regent, who had recently come from London in company with Georges Cadoudal, and other Royalists, were apprehended in the house of two nuns, Madame Goyon and Madame de Cicé, and being brought to trial, were fully convicted, and suffered on the scaffold. "Justice seems, at this period," says Sir Walter Scott, "to have been distributed with an impartiality unusual in France since the Révolution." Bonaparte, for a long time, affected to believe, that these conspiracies were countenanced, if not contrived by the British Government.

It was during the period when the police were pursuing their enquiries after Carbon and his accomplices, that a pamphlet, entitled "Parallel between Cæsar, Cromwell, Monk, and Bonaparte" appeared, and created a great sensation in the political circles of Paris. This celebrated tract purported to be a translation from the English. It advocated the re-establishment of hereditary monarchy, and openly pointed at the Conqueror of Italy, the *Alexander*, the *Pericles*, the *Martel*, the *Charlemagne* of France, as the man to be hailed "Founder of a new Dynasty." The piece is full of noble sentiments and profound thoughts, and exhibits in the writer, a masterly comprehension of the position and interests of the Republic, as well as extensive knowledge of the details and uses of history. It was generally received, however, with clamorous disapprobation; and the friends of Napoleon counselled that he should instantly suppress it, lest it should injure him in public

THE PARALLEL.

estimation, and be the cause of more such conspiracies as those from which he had recently escaped. Fouché was sent for, and severely reprehended for allowing it to be published. The Minister listened with the most imperturbable coolness. "Some delicacy," he replied, "was necessary to be observed with regard to the author."—"Delicacy!" exclaimed the First Consul, with increased warmth, "he should have been instantly arrested."—"But, General," interrupted the sardonic functionary, "your brother Lucien has taken the pamphlet under his protection. The printing and publishing were by his order; and, in short, the whole affair has been authorized by the Ministry of the Interior." Napoleon was staggered for a moment; but stifling his chagrin, he resumed: "It was your duty as Minister of Police to have denounced Lucien, and imprisoned him in the Temple." Then, hastening from the cabinet, he muttered, "That blockhead, Lucien, is constantly compromising me!" The sinister smile which had played upon Fouché's lips during the First Consul's presence, now became more significant. "Imprison the author!" he whispered to De Bourrienne, who was present at this scene, "that would be difficult! Alarmed at the effect the 'Parallel' was calculated to produce, I hastened to Lucien, and taxed him with his imprudence. Instead of answering me, he drew forth from a private drawer the original manuscript of the publication, full of corrections and suggestions in the hand-writing of the First Consul." Lucien was next sent for, and made to resign the office he then held in the ministry; being compensated with the appointment of Ambassador to the Court of Spain. Napoleon thus thought it necessary to yield, for a time, to the force of Public Opinion; "that invisible and mysterious power," as he himself has called it, "which, though nothing can be more vague, unsteady, and capricious, it is impossible to resist." The people, in fact, were not yet prepared to submit to the outward forms, notwithstanding that they had sanctioned the assumption of the substantial prerogatives of monarchy. It had been hoped by many, that the First Consul intended to become a Washington—a hope which his reverence for the character of that great man had assisted to foster. "But in France, exposed to faction within and invasion without, with none but a circle of kings to call to his congress, even Washington would but have prolonged the existence

THE PARALLEL.

of evil, to attempt the part which he played in America." It may be added, in Bonaparte's own words, that his "ideas were fixed, and merely required time and events for their realization. It was necessary, however, to proceed steadily from day to day, guided by the polar star, by which it was purposed to bring the Revolution to the desired haven."

The effect of the 'Parallel' itself, though, for the moment, it might have appeared to retard the execution of the project which it was intended to advance, was not altogether unsatisfactory. The violence which it excited had time to vent itself and pass away; and men's minds had become familiar with the question which it advocated, before any practical measure was announced to realize the object in view.

CHAPTER XIII.

SPECIAL TRIBUNALS—PUBLIC WORKS—RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES—HOHEN-
LINDEN — TREATY OF LUNEVILLE — DEATH OF THE EMPEROR PAUL —
EVACUATION OF EGYPT—THE CONCORDAT—PEACE OF AMIENS.
1800—1801.

ETTING escape no fair opportunity for consolidating his own power, Napoleon was not slow to take advantage of the conspiracies which had transpired, and the popular enthusiasm which they had created in his favour, as pretexts for the introduction of some legal measures calculated to raise him a step nearer to unlimited authority. A

Special Tribunal was instituted for the trial of all conspirators, traitors to the Republic, and armed insurgents; for which, indeed, some necessity was shewn, by the daring of the numerous bands of

SPECIAL TRIBUNALS.

Chouans, on the withdrawal from the Royalist departments of the troops which formed the Army of Reserve, who had again begun to make head, and now infested the roads, intercepted public and commercial communications, and kept many of the provincial towns in a state of constant fear and apprehension. This Court consisted of eight judges, comprising three members of the ordinary criminal tribunal, three military officers, and two citizens, who were to act without the intervention of a jury, and from whose decision there was to be no appeal. This Institution was followed by another, formed to give the Chief Consul a discretionary power to banish from Paris, or from France, all persons who might be regarded as public enemies, though guilty of no absolute crime. This it must not be denied was an unjust and iniquitous law, entirely subversive of all liberty, public and private; and verging to the most arbitrary despotism which was ever exercised over men. To their honour it should be recorded, that the project encountered the determined and courageous opposition of Benjamin Constant, Daunou, Ginguené, Chénier, and Isnard, in the Tribunate; and of Lambrecht, Lanjuinais, Garat, and Lenoir Laroche, in the Senate. The majority by which it was finally carried was only eight out of ninety members.

In order to divert the attention of the people from these proceedings, and to impress them with sentiments of deeper admiration for the government of the First Consul, a number of important public works were projected and commenced. The Capital was embellished with new streets and bridges; a new exchange was erected; magnificent cemeteries were planned; triumphal arches and beautiful columns arose in the public places; quays were constructed on the Seine; and new roads, canals, and harbours sprung forth, as at a word, in all the departments, to carry the blessings of commerce through every part of France. In one direction forests were planted; in another gratuities were awarded for improvements in manufactures, handicrafts, and agriculture. New animal and vegetable products were imported and naturalized, and the utmost skill and attention were lavished upon the old; the benefits of which were soon felt in the improved breed of French cattle, and a national proficiency in horticulture unsurpassed in Europe. The Arts were at the same time advanced, and rendered available to the common people, in their

PUBLIC WORKS.

adaptation to the purposes of manufacture and commerce. Admired pictures were purchased by the government; and promising young artists, as well as those already distinguished, were provided with apartments in the splendid palace of the Louvre, the galleries of which, under the auspices of Napoleon, became superior in grandeur and wealth to those of the Vatican itself. "It was a journey, like the path to Heaven," Mr. Hazlitt says, "to visit the place for the first time. You walked, for a quarter of a mile, through works of fine art: the very floors echoed the sounds of immortality. The effect was not broken and frittered by being divided and taken piecemeal; but the whole was collected, heaped, massed together to a gorgeous height, so that the blow stunned you, and could never be forgotten. School called unto school; one great name answered to another, swelling the chorus of universal praise. It was the crowning and the consecration of art; there was a dream and a glory like the coming of the Millennium; and the works which were collected, instead of being taken from their respective countries, were given to the world, and to the mind and heart of man from whence they sprung. He who had the hope, nay the earnest wish to achieve anything like the immortal works before him, rose in imagination, and in the scale of true desert above principalities and powers. All that it had entered into his mind to conceive—his thought in tangled forests, his vision of the night, was here perfected and accomplished, was acknowledged for the fair and good, honoured with the epithet of divine, spoke an intelligible language, and received the homage of the universe."

Great and useful undertakings were urged forward on every side; even the barriers of nature were no obstacles to Napoleon's endeavour to perfect the glory of the "Great Nation." His highways levelled the ancient boundaries of France, and united her more closely to the states and provinces with which a fraternal alliance had been established, through the agency of him to whose will all things, for a time, seemed to have been subjected. Thus in Savoy, a road, smooth as a garden alley, displaced the dangerous steepes of Bramant; the passage of Mont Cenis was rendered easy as a morning's walk; and the rugged and dangerous Simplon was forced to yield a magnificent road to the mine and the lever of French engineers. "Bonaparte,"

NEGOCIATIONS.

says De Bourrienne, "might, with greater truth, boast that there were no longer Alps, than did Louis XIV. that there were no longer Pyrenees." At the same time the strictest attention was paid to the finances; speculators and jobbers were punished whenever they were detected; accounts and estimates were submitted to, and inspected by, Napoleon in person, whose vigilance in discovering errors or misappropriation in the public expenditure, kept all things within the bounds of economy and order. The activity he exerted, and the labour he performed at this time, seem almost incredible. Often, after being engaged the whole day in looking over papers or hearing reports on diplomatic affairs, the army, the police, the administration of justice, or the progress of public works, despatches arrived in the evening, and he would then sit up all night to read and answer them. His secretaries were worn out with fatigue; yet this accumulation of toil seemed to require so little effort from himself, beyond the sustaining vigour of his mind, that the only stimulant he was in the habit of taking, through the long hours of his sittings, was a little lemonade.

In the meantime, the negotiations for peace with England and Austria, which had been set on foot after the battle of Marengo, proceeded but slowly; and Napoleon, who perceived that the object of the Allies was merely to gain time, and to take advantage of future contingencies to renew the war at a favourable moment, resolved to be first in the field. The Commanders of the Armies of the Rhine and of Italy received orders to give notice, on the 1st of September, of the expiration of the truce, and to resume hostilities without delay. Moreau, whose head-quarters were at Nimphenburg, near Munich, accordingly prepared to open the campaign; but Austria, still undecided and desirous of a respite, solicited a renewal of the armistice, professing ardently to wish for peace, and offering, as a guarantee of its sincerity, to place the three important fortresses of Ulm, Philipsburg, and Ingoldstadt, in the hands of the French. On these conditions, the suspension of hostilities was prolonged for forty-five days from the 20th of September. It was in this interval, that the British loan of two millions reached Vienna, and decided the Emperor on trying the fate of a new campaign. Still, however, he was anxious to temporize, and, if possible, amuse the First Consul,

MILITARY PREPARATIONS.

till the commencement of the rainy season should have rendered military operations impossible, by which means he would have gained the winter for recruiting his armies, and concerting plans with his Allies. Count Lerbach was despatched to Luneville, but with insufficient powers to treat with Joseph Bonaparte, the French plenipotentiary, on terms for a definitive peace. On the very opening of the proceedings, the object of Austria became manifest. Count Lerbach declaring that he had no authority to act without the concurrence of an English minister. Napoleon was very naturally exasperated at this duplicity, and ordered his Generals to resume instant hostilities on the expiration of the forty-five days.

The strength and positions of the French armies, at this period, were favourable for continuing the war. The Republican soldiers in Germany amounted to a hundred and seventy-five thousand: consisting of the Gallo-Batavian army, commanded by General Augereau, twenty thousand strong; the grand Army of Germany, under Moreau, numbering a hundred and forty thousand; and the Army of the Grisons, under Macdonald, fifteen thousand men. In Italy, the French forces were a hundred thousand: ninety thousand under General Brune, who had succeeded Massena as Commander-in-chief, in consequence of some disagreement between the latter and the authorities of the Cisalpine Republic; and ten thousand, designated the Southern Corps of Observation, under Murat. The plan of the campaign had been previously arranged. Moreau was to pass the Inn, and march on Vienna by the valley of the Danube. Augereau was directed to act on the Rednitz as a reserve, for emergencies, and to secure the rear of the grand army. Brune was ordered, at the same time, to pass the Mincio and the Adige, and direct his march upon the Noric Alps, while Murat was to act as a reserve to Brune, and to flank his right. Thus two hundred and fifty thousand men were prepared at once to advance upon the capital of Germany, at a season when the Emperor had flattered himself, that no idea of a campaign in the inclement region of Upper Austria would be entertained. The number of the German troops, to oppose the invaders, was not more than equal; while in discipline and courage they were greatly inferior. Moreau had under his command some of the best officers France had produced: Lecourbe, Grouchy,

HOHENLINDEN.

St. Suzanne, Ney, Legrand, and Hardy, with others of probably equal talent; all eager to emulate the deeds of the victors of Marengo.

Hostilities were resumed on the 27th of November, when the Army of the Rhine advanced in four divisions upon the Inn, along the left bank of which it bivouacked on the 30th, extending over a space of nearly fifteen leagues between Rosenheim and Mühldorf. The Archduke John, whose reputation with the Imperial troops almost equalled that of his brother Charles, occupied, with his army, a line extending from Mühldorf to Landshut, intending to operate by the valleys of the Issen, the Roth, and the Iser. At day-break on the 1st of December, the Archduke deployed sixty thousand men before the heights of Ampfingen and Achau, and, attacking the French positions before they were prepared, drove back the divisions of Grenier, Ney, Grandjean, and Legrand, with considerable loss, and carried alarm into the whole of the French army: but, like all his predecessors, the Austrian chief was incapable of taking advantage of the fortunate moment. Instead of following up his first success by passing Haag, and giving battle on the 2nd, he contented himself with petty movements, and thus afforded his opponents time to rally, and to concentrate their forces.

Having, in the meantime, however, perceived the error of his delay, he put his army into motion, before day-break on the 3rd, and advanced in three columns, which were designed to meet and encamp in the evening in the plain of Amzing. A heavy fall of snow had entirely obliterated all traces of roads; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the troops were enabled to advance in the wild forest of Hohenlinden, near the village of which name the firing commenced. Grouchy's division, at about seven o'clock, was surprised at the appearance of an enemy; and at the first onset, several of his battalions were broken, and fled in disorder. Ney, however, hastened to the spot, and by a terrible charge carried death and dismay into the heart of the Austrian column. The battle soon became general; and, after a protracted conflict, as obstinate and bloody as any the French troops had ever sustained, in which the severity of the weather and the state and nature of the ground seem to have utterly bewildered all parties in their operations, the fate of the day was determined by the desperate valour of General Riche-

FRENCH VICTORIES.

panse, who being nearly surrounded by the enemy, and cut off from all communication with the other divisions of the army, penetrated with the 8th and 48th regiments of the line into the depths of the forest, manœuvred to get into the rear of the Austrian artillery, charged and routed its escort with the bayonet, and took eighty-seven pieces of cannon, and three hundred waggons. The confusion which this movement occasioned in the rear spread rapidly to the van; and the Archduke, no longer able to maintain his ground, precipitately retreated with the wreck of his army behind the Inn. The loss of the Austrians in this engagement is reported to have been twenty-five thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners—the latter, amounting to seven thousand, included two generals; a hundred guns, and an immense number of waggons, containing baggage and ammunition. The French lost ten thousand men.

Moreau, intent on improving his victory, crossed the Inn and the Salza, and pushed on through Salzburg, Frankenmarkt, Schwanstadt, and Lambach, to Kremsmunster, where, on the 22nd, he established his head-quarters, while his advanced posts were on the banks of the Ips and the Erlaph, with the light cavalry in position at Mölk on the Danube, not above two days march from Vienna. Augereau, meanwhile, on the very day of the victory of Hohenlinden, had defeated the Baron Albin and an army of twenty thousand Austrians at Burg-Eberach, passed the Rednitz, and taken possession of Nuremberg, on the frontiers of Bohemia; while Macdonald, with the Army of the Grisons, had crossed the Valteline, and advanced as far as Trent in the Tyrol. Brune, at the same time, had passed the Mincio, the Adige, and the Brenta, driving the affrighted Germans before him at every stage, and was within a few miles of Venice; and Murat, with the Army of Observation, was at Milan. Every way the hopes of Austria were crushed; and the capital of the empire lay defenceless before whichever of the enemy's armies should first arrive at its gates. The Archduke Charles was called at the last moment to take the command of the army; but it was now too late: and, as a final resource, Austria again had recourse to negotiation, to allow time for completing which, a further suspension of hostilities for thirty days was solicited and conceded on the 25th of December, the term being afterwards protracted till the signing of the definitive

NEAPOLITANS.

treaty of Luneville, on the 9th of February, 1801; when the Emperor, compelled to relinquish his engagements with England, accepted a separate peace, on terms dictated by his Conqueror. By this treaty the left bank of the Rhine, though comprising portions of the hereditary dominions of the King of Prussia, and of other Princes of the Germanic Confederation, was guaranteed to France as her boundary; and Tuscany, which belonged to the brother of Francis, was unconditionally ceded to the First Consul. The Union of the Batavian Republic with that of France was recognised, together with the independence of the Cisalpine and Ligurian Commonwealths. It has been remarked by Sir Walter Scott, that these conditions were not much more advantageous to France than those of Campo Formio; and that the moderation of Napoleon indicated the sincerity of his desire for peace.

Naples had not been admitted as a party in this treaty. She had still an army of sixteen thousand men in the field, under Count de Damas, who having crossed the Papal States unmolested, and ventured to give battle to General Miollis at Sienna, had been defeated with considerable slaughter, and fled once more into the Roman territories for refuge. Immediately after the battle of Hohenlinden, Murat received orders to pursue the Neapolitans into the interior of their own kingdom, and, if necessary, drive the Royal Family once more to the island of Sicily; but to pay the greatest respect to the Pope, to restore to him the free government of his States, and not to approach his capital without his special request. The Pontiff was so well pleased with the conduct of the French on the occasion, that he desired Cardinal Gonsalvi to write to Murat, expressing "the lively regard which his Holiness felt for the First Consul, in whose hands were the tranquillity of religion and the happiness of Europe." The Neapolitans, thus driven from the States of the Church, rapidly fell back towards the mountains of Calabria.

The Court of Naples now became certain that it had nothing to hope but from the clemency of Napoleon; the English fleet, which was its strongest reliance, being unable to defend the capital from the conquering troops of France. The Queen, a woman of strong mind, and decisive character, resolved at this crisis to appeal to the Emperor Paul, who was known to be on the best terms with

the First Consul, for his intercession in behalf of her husband and his dominions. Notwithstanding the severity of the season, she forthwith proceeded to St. Petersburg; and the Czar, flattered by the supplication of the daughter of Maria Theresa, for a protection which her brother, the Emperor of Austria, was unable to afford, immediately despatched Count Lewinshoff, Grand Huntsman of Russia, to Paris, to solicit a peace, which Napoleon, to gratify Paul, at once conceded. Accordingly, after some time idly spent in negociation, on the 28th of March, a treaty was signed at Florence, by which the King of the Two Sicilies agreed to close his ports against all English vessels; to cede to France the island of Elba; to restore to the Pope all the paintings, statues, and works of art, which, after the example of Napoleon, De Damas, though he had entered the city as a protector, had taken from Rome; and to receive a corps of French soldiers into his territories, for the convenience of embarkation, to reinforce the Army of Egypt.

At this period, Napoleon, in compliment to the King of Spain, who had rendered him considerable service during the war, erected Tuscany into a kingdom, under the name of Etruria, and conferred it on Louis de Bourbon, eldest son of the Duke of Parma, who had married Maria Louisa, a sister of Ferdinand VII.

The whole of the Continent was now at peace with France; England alone continued the war, and she without any apparent object. Her superiority by sea was everywhere felt and admitted, and she could scarcely hope, without allies, to obtain any permanent advantage by land. Malta, after a siege of two years, had been wrested from the Republic; and Egypt was the only point on which success could be hoped for. In these circumstances, knowing that the calm around him was merely the effect of fear, and that it would last only so long as that operating cause continued, the First Consul was anxious to bring matters to a close with England, either by totally crushing that power, or reducing her to seek a termination of hostilities. For this purpose, he prepared to take advantage of the dissatisfaction recently created among the northern maritime States, by the encroachments of England in searching neutral vessels. Every art of diplomacy was exerted to fan the existing jealousy of Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, into open rage; and in a short

NORTHERN COALITION.

time, those powers united with Russia and France in forming a coalition to resist the British exactions. The Emperor Paul, whose feelings of hostility against Great Britain had been increased by the refusal of the Cabinet of London to restore the island of Malta to the Knights of St. John, according to stipulation, had already seized all the English subjects and goods in his dominions. Prussia now took possession of Hanover, the independence of which she had herself guaranteed; and Denmark occupied the free city of Hamburgh. Thus the British Government had to contemplate the necessity of humiliation, or of encountering single-handed the immense military force of France and the combined fleets of Europe. At the same time, the people of England were suffering from a scarcity of provisions, the consequence of bad harvests, and the unsettled state of commerce.

With a degree of courage and promptitude, which has few parallels in history, in the face of the most appalling dangers and difficulties, a powerful fleet was immediately fitted out and despatched, under the command of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker and Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson, to the Baltic, to anticipate the operations of the Confederacy, by attacking their fleets in their own harbours. This display of energy, and the success with which it was crowned in the signal victory of Nelson at Copenhagen, added to the death of the Emperor Paul, who, in the night of the 23rd of March, was assassinated in his palace at St. Petersburg, by members of his own household, entirely defeated the objects of the Coalition. The new Czar was indisposed to pursue the policy of his predecessor; and defeat had reduced Denmark to submission. The morning after receiving the news of the murder of Paul, Napoleon caused the following announcement, by which he evidently sought to insinuate that the government of England had some participation in the crime, to be inserted in the *Moniteur*:—"Paul I. died on the night between the 23rd and 24th of March. The English squadron passed the Sound on the 30th. History will instruct us as to the relation existing between these two events." The First Consul was greatly affected on the occasion. "A revolution of the palace," he exclaimed, "has overturned all my designs. Had the Czar lived, I should have concerted measures with him to give a mortal blow to the British power in India." Not-

EVACUATION OF EGYPT.

withstanding his chagrin, however, he forthwith sent Duroc to St. Petersburg, to congratulate the Emperor Alexander on his accession to the throne.

It was shortly after the death of Paul, that Napoleon heard of the evacuation, by Menou, of the colony of Egypt. Everything had gone badly there since the death of Kleber. Menou had altered the regulations of that General respecting the treatment of the inhabitants, and thus disgusted the most influential portion of the population, who, on the landing of an English army, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, in March, 1801, rose in open hostility to the French. The contest was not a prolonged one. Menou, finding himself overmatched, both in skill and numbers, with his troops scattered in various forts and cities, where they were surrounded by open enemies, and exposed to the machinations of concealed ones, entered into a convention for surrendering the province, on condition that the army should be transported to France, with its arms and baggage. On receiving this intelligence, Bonaparte is reported to have said, "There remains, then, no alternative but a descent on Britain:" an idea which occasioned some preparations to be made at Boulogne and elsewhere, in the collection of a flotilla; but, as there was no serious intention of putting the project into execution, the only result it produced, was that of rousing afresh the ardour and animosity of the English people, and rendering the war more popular than before. In the meantime, as Mr. Pitt had relinquished office, and been succeeded by Mr. Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth, who was known to be more favourably disposed towards accommodation than his predecessor; and as no determinate advantage could accrue to any party from protracting the war, negotiations were again set on foot for a peace—on this occasion at the solicitation of England.

The administration of the internal affairs of the Commonwealth proceeded with the same vigour as had been constantly displayed, since the establishment of the Consulate. Immediately after the ratification of the Treaty of Luneville, Napoleon formed the territories which had been ceded to France by Austria, into four new departments: those of Roër, the Sarre, the Rhine and Moselle, and Mont Tonnerre; and, for the advancement of the commercial interests of the nation, published a law authorizing the establishment of *bourses*,

STEAM BOATS.

or marts of trade, in the chief cities and towns of the Republic; at the same time, ordaining that, from the 17th to the 22nd of September in each year, there should be public exhibitions of the productions of French industry and ingenuity. Amid the numberless speculations and improvements which were, at this time, suggested to him, he missed one, which might have changed his own fate and that of Europe. The celebrated Fulton presented a memorial on the subject of steam-boats. Napoleon, who was always suspicious of mere speculators, treated the project as chimerical, and its author as a visionary. It was in vain that a letter was spoken of, which had been written by Benjamin Franklin, in 1788, wherein that scientific philosopher had spoken of "a boat, propelled by a steam-engine, which had power to ascend against the stream." The First Consul could not be brought to examine the proposal; and eventually Fulton went to America, where, five or six years afterwards, he was enabled to carry his long contemplated plans into execution, and to commence one of the mightiest revolutions which have ever operated upon the destinies of mankind.

From the same period dates the re-establishment of a national religion in France. Napoleon considered such a measure necessary, to secure the tranquillity of the State and the settlement of the Government. He had already recalled the banished priests, re-erected the ancient altars for Christian worship, and given back to the Pope his temporal sovereignty: it excited no surprise, therefore, when it was known that Joseph Bonaparte was commissioned to treat with Cardinal Gonsalvi, the plenipotentiary of Pius VII., on the terms of a special Concordat, to restore the Republic to the bosom of the Church. The want of conformity in matters of faith had long been felt as an evil by good and really patriotic men, among whom the only serious question was, what kind of religion it would be best to establish. Many desired to throw off the Papal yoke and establish a Gallican church, similar to that of England, of which the First Consul should be the head. Napoleon rejected this. "I am aware," he said, "that a part of France would become Protestant, especially if I seemed to countenance such a disposition; but the majority would remain Catholic, and struggle, with the fervour of sectarian zeal, against the schism of their fellow-citizens. Religious contests, dis-

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sensions in families would ensue; instead of which, by re-establishing the religion which has always reigned in the land, and which still keeps its hold upon the heart, while the minority are left free to exercise their own worship, I shall act in harmony with the nation, and satisfy every body." Some argued, that no State religion was necessary; that it was enough to tolerate public worship and the *priests*, without creating or providing for a *clergy*; and that the spirit of the age opposed a relapse to the old order of things. "Nay, you deceive yourselves," replied the First Consul; "religion is inherent in men's minds, and while this is so a clergy will always exist. We have had instances of Republics, Democracies, of all that we see, but never of any State without a religion, a form of worship, or a priesthood. It is better, therefore, to regulate the worship, and gain over the priests, than to leave things as they are. The popularity of the government is enhanced by its respect for religion. It was this respect which gained me the affections of the Italians, and the confidence of the ulemas of Egypt." Indeed, so thoroughly was he imbued with a sense of the importance of this step, that, at a debate on the subject in the Council of State, he said, "If the Pope had not existed, I would have created one for the occasion; as the Roman Consuls, in circumstances of emergency, elected a dictator."

There is no doubt, however, that the *Concordat* was a matter of policy rather than religion. Napoleon himself has told us, that "it was necessary to the Republic and the Government; to terminate sectarian divisions, put an end to disorders, cause the faithful to pray for the State, dissipate the scruples of those who had purchased the domains of the Church, and break the last thread which still connected the ancient dynasty with the country, by displacing the bishops, who remained faithful to royalty, and pointing them out as rebels, preferring the things of this world and their temporal interests to the affairs of Heaven and the cause of God." Notwithstanding this apparent indifference, however, Napoleon does not appear to have been so wholly devoid of religious sentiments as he has been generally represented. His thoughts were vague and unsettled, and his mind tinged with superstition. "My reason," he said, "keeps me in unbelief concerning many things; but the impressions of childhood, and the feelings of early youth, throw me back into uncertainty. I am

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assuredly far from being an Atheist; but I cannot profess to believe all that I am taught, in spite of my reason, without being false and a hypocrite. To explain where I come from, what I am, and whither I go, is above my comprehension. I am like the watch that exists, without the consciousness of existence. However, the sentiment of religion is so consolatory, that it must be considered a gift of Heaven. My incredulity does not proceed from perverseness or licentiousness of mind; but how is it possible that conviction can find its way to my heart, when I hear the absurd language, and witness the iniquitous acts, of those whose business it is to preach to us?—who incessantly tell us that their reign is not of this world, and yet lay hands upon everything they can get? The Pope, the head of religion, thinks only of this world, and his secular power as a prince. I consider religion, nevertheless, as the support of sound principles and good morality, both in doctrine and practice; and such is the restlessness of man, that his mind requires *that something* undefined and marvellous which religion offers.”

On another occasion, when he had dined with a few friends at Malmaison, a rural estate, situate a few miles from Paris, which he had purchased shortly after his return from Egypt; as he walked in the Park, at evening, the conversation turned upon religion—it was Sunday. The sound of the bells, from the village church of Ruel, suddenly struck upon his ear, in the midst of an argument on modes of worship, philosophical systems, deism, and materialism. He paused to catch every tone of the sounds that charmed him; and his voice trembled with emotion, as he said, “This recalls the first years I passed at Brienne.—I was happy then!” The bells ceased, and he resumed the interrupted discourse. “Let your philosophers, your metaphysicians,” he exclaimed, “explain the source of that influence. If there be not a Deity,” he continued, extending his hands towards heaven, which was thickly studded with stars, “let them tell me who made all that? Everything proclaims the eternal truth, that there is a God!” The stumbling-block in the way of his becoming a Christian seems to have been the immortality of the soul; a doctrine which he strove to believe, but on which he could obtain no conviction. At St. Helena, he said, “What influence could men and events exercise over me if, bearing my misfortunes as if inflicted by God, I expected to

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be compensated by him with happiness hereafter!" In the height of his power he has been heard to say, that the perpetuity of a name in the memory of men, constituted his only hope of immortality. "This idea," he added, "elevates to noble deeds. It were better never to have lived than to leave no after traces of one's existence." The struggle between old recollections, a desire to be fully satisfied, and a perverse understanding, kept him in doubt till his death. When he was Emperor, every effort was used to induce him to take the sacrament in the church of Nôtre Dame; but he constantly refused to do so. "I have not sufficient faith in the act," he said, "to be benefitted by it; yet I have too much belief to allow me to commit a wilful profanation." And, strange as it may appear, in union with his peculiar ideas, he firmly believed in presentiments and the appearance of spirits. "When at a distance," he remarked, "death strikes one who is dear to us: a presentiment almost always announces the event; and the individual who is removed appears to us at the moment of our loss."

The Concordat was signed by Napoleon on the 15th of August, 1801, and by the Pope shortly afterwards. By this document, the Holy See relinquished to the French Government the right of nomination to vacant bishoprics; pledged itself not to molest the purchasers of alienated ecclesiastical property; and agreed to a new division of dioceses and church livings: in return for which, the authorities of the Republic recognised the Catholic Apostolical Church as that of the nation, and agreed to secure proper salaries for the prelates and clergy, and to sanction measures for allowing piously-disposed persons to make future endowments in favour of religion. The conditions of this arrangement were too moderate to meet the approval of the high church party, and especially of the exiled Bishops, who threatened to resign their Sees, in preference to joining in, what they deemed, a surrender of the ancient concessions to the Church; but finding that due provision had been made for filling their places, in the event of their proving refractory, they, as well as his Holiness, thought it best to submit to "the exigencies of the times," and obtain restitution of a portion of their wealth and influence, rather than continue to be deprived of the whole. It was, at least, something saved from the wreck of the Revolution. The nation at large looked upon the

TE DEUM.

Concordat as a healing measure, and was by no means disposed to support the pretensions of those who, from selfish motives, sought to oppose it.

The ordonnance for the re-establishment of the Catholic worship was followed by a solemn procession to the church of Nôtre Dame, on which occasion the household of the First Consul, for the first time, appeared in livery. Mass was performed, with pontifical magnificence, by Cardinal Caprara. The Bishops took the oath of allegiance to the Republic; and, after a discourse delivered by De Boisgehin, Archbishop of Tours, the same who had preached the Coronation sermon of Louis XVI., a *Te Deum* was chanted. The congregation was

PEACE OF AMIENS.

immense—the greater portion being obliged to stand; but the comportment of the majority harmonized little with devotional solemnity. The preceding twelve years had engendered an irreverence for divine things, which the Concordat had no power in an instant to dispel. During the service, the whispers of curiosity or impatience gradually increased to the tone of conversation, occasionally interrupting the ceremony; and an unusual hunger seemed to have seized upon many, who every few minutes were seen turning their heads to bite a piece of chocolate. De Bourrienne affirms, that he even saw persons taking luncheon, without appearing to pay the least regard to what was going forward.

Many of the Republican Generals felt the greatest repugnance to the new arrangement; and it was necessary to use some address to procure their presence at the Cathedral. Berthier invited several to breakfast with him, whence he took them to Napoleon's levée, thus rendering excuse impossible. Moreau, however, at the risk of offending, declined giving his attendance. On the return of the procession to the Tuileries, Bonaparte asked Delmas what he thought of the ceremony. "It was an admirable *capucinade*," replied the General; and Angereau, being asked the same question, answered, "It is all very fine: there wants nothing but the million of men who devoted themselves to death in order to destroy what we are now re-establishing." This, it may be remarked, was in the capital. In the country, the restoration of religion was generally hailed as a blessing.

The treaty with England, which had been slowly proceeding for some months, was brought to a close soon after the publication of the Concordat. The English agreed to surrender all the conquests they had made during the war, except Trinidad and Ceylon, which they were allowed to retain in perpetuity; and the French were to evacuate Rome and Naples. The occupation of Malta had formed one of the chief obstacles to an earlier settlement of differences: this island was now to be restored to the Knights of St. John, and declared a free port—its independence being secured by a garrison of the troops of a neutral power. The preliminary articles were signed on the 10th of October, 1801, and their publication elicited the most enthusiastic and general joy throughout England as well as France.

CHARLES JAMES FOX.

Mr. Sheridan aptly characterized the peace, as "a result which all men were glad of, but of which no man could be proud." It is not wonderful that when one who, from the outset, had opposed the war, thus regarded its termination, the Government with which it had originated and which was now in a measure compelled to abandon it, should consider its cessation as a mere truce for convenience.

The Peace of Amiens opened the Continent to British travellers. Among those who availed themselves of the opportunity to visit France, was the illustrious Charles James Fox, of whom Bonaparte himself has recorded, that "half a dozen such men would be sufficient to establish the character of a nation;—a man without a model among the ancients, being himself a model, whose principles, sooner or later, will rule the world. In Fox," added Napoleon, "the heart warmed the genius, while, in his rival Pitt, the genius withered the heart." Fox at this time was engaged in writing a History of the Stuarts, and requested permission to inspect the archives of France. The First Consul afforded him every facility for his researches; and received him frequently at the Palace, where the conversations that



ensued seem to have induced mutual sentiments of the highest respect and esteem. "Fame," said Napoleon, "had informed me of Fox's talents; and I soon found that he possessed a noble character, a good heart, liberal, generous, and enlightened views. I considered him an

CHARLES JAMES FOX.

ornament to mankind, and was much attached to him." The First Consul having spoken of the *Infernal Machine* in Fox's presence, and wishing to cast the odium of that attempt upon the British Ministry, was rebuked with manly sincerity and warmth: "Pray take that crotchet out of your head," said the Statesman; who well knew how incapable were English gentlemen, Whig or Tory, of lending any countenance to schemes of assassination. The kindly attentions of Napoleon to this distinguished man were responded to by all France. In every town and village through which he passed, the authorities and inhabitants vied with each other in rendering to him honour and hospitality. M. Laurent de l'Ardèche assimilates the enthusiasm of the French populace on the occasion, with that of the British public in the equally flattering reception, in 1838, of Marshal Soult, "a Soldier of Napoleon, and Veteran of the Republic."

CHAPTER XIV.

NAPOLEON, PRESIDENT OF THE CISALPINE REPUBLIC—MARRIAGE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE—EDUCATION—CIVIL CODE—RECALL OF EMIGRANTS—CONSUL FOR LIFE—CARNOT AND LA FAYETTE—EXPEDITION TO ST. DOMINGO—HELVETIC CONFEDERATION—THE PRESS. 1802—1803.

LITTLE had been said in the recent Treaties with Austria and England, concerning the future government of those Italian States which France had erected into separate Republics, or annexed as Departments to her own territories. It had been deemed sufficient for the time, that their independence should be recognised, without any express stipulation being made respecting them. Napoleon, who had always been honoured as their Liberator, in the beginning of January, 1802, summoned a Convention of Italian Deputies, to meet at Lyons, for the purpose of reconsidering the Constitution of the Cisalpine Commonwealth, in order that it might be assimilated with that of France, instead of continuing to subsist on the directorial model. This Convocation the First Consul attended in person; and the influence of his presence procured a ready acquiescence in all his suggestions, and induced the members to offer him the Presidency of the Republic; not in his capacity of First Consul

EDUCATION.

of France, but as a private individual—an appointment which was well adapted to second his own ulterior views, and was therefore accepted with much pleasure.

It was on the 7th of January, the evening prior to his departure for Lyons, that Napoleon caused a marriage to be solemnized between his brother Louis and the beautiful Hortense Beauharnais, the daughter of Josephine. This match originated in no impulse of affection, at least as regarded the lady; but is said to have been chiefly effected through the agency of her mother, who was desirous of having one friend among the brothers of Napoleon, to counteract the intrigues of the others, who she suspected to be her enemies, and leagued in advising her husband to assume the title, as well as the functions, of royalty. This marriage was celebrated with religious, as well as civil rites; and at the same time the marriage of Caroline and Murat, sanctioned by the magistrate two years before, was solemnized by the priest. A speculation has been raised upon these proceedings, whether, as he forbore to follow the course considered necessary for others, Napoleon did not already entertain thoughts of his subsequent divorce, which the religious rite would have rendered a matter of greater difficulty to obtain.

In the beginning of this year, the First Consul established a national system of Education. It has been already shewn, that, even in his youth, he had entertained views upon the conduct of the public schools at variance with the established practice. He had now the power to test the soundness of his own opinions by reducing them to practice. Schools and colleges were rapidly erected in the several departments of the Republic. Six thousand scholarships were at once instituted; the holders of which were clothed in uniform, in order that one might not appear better dressed than another, and a sense of inferiority be thus generated in the pupils, by the external appearance of their companions. "In advancing the cause of Education," he said, "we are planting for the future." It was a pardonable vaunt when, in after years, meeting with a young man who had made rapid progress in one of the Lyceums which he had founded, he exclaimed, "What a rising generation I shall leave behind me! This is all my work! The merits of the French youth will hereafter avenge my memory!"

CIVIL CODE.—EMIGRANTS.

About the same time, one of Napoleon's greatest works was commenced: the preparation of a code of laws, known at first as the *Civil Code*, and afterwards as the *Code Napoleon*. This was a labour of the utmost utility; not only for the soundness of the laws it established, but as removing the many arbitrary and contradictory enactments and decrees which had previously governed the several provinces of the kingdom, and establishing a uniform system of jurisprudence in their stead. It was a circumstance which attracted considerable notice, that the young General of the Armies of Italy and Egypt, should be not only able to preside at the sittings of the Council of State for drawing up these laws, but even to lead the debates upon the most abstruse subjects of legislation among such coadjutors as Talleyrand, Cambacérès, Lebrun, Tronchet, Rœderer, Portallis, and Thibaudeau. He seemed to derive intense delight from these discussions, in which he consequently took an active part, speaking without preparation, embarrassment, or pretension, in a style which, though not more elevated than his general tone of conversation, was remarkable for correctness of conception, force of reasoning, and liberality of sentiment.

On the 26th of April, a decree was passed for the recall of the Emigrants. It was Napoleon's wish to have restored to the exiles all the property they had formerly possessed, which had not been disposed of by the State; but in this he encountered so much opposition, both in the Council and the Senate, that he was compelled to relinquish the idea, and consent to there call without restitution. The exceptions to this amnesty were less than five hundred persons, consisting of—Those who had been chiefs of bodies of armed Royalists; had held rank in the armies of the Allies; belonged to the household of the Bourbon Princes; been agents or encouragers of civil wars; and such generals, admirals, and representatives of the people, as had borne arms against the Republic. Most of the Emigrants returned; and to some, on his own authority, he restored their forfeited estates; but the conduct of these persons is represented to have been such, as to have prevented his intention from being carried out to the extent he at first meditated.

By every act of his government, Napoleon was rendering a service to France, as well as courting the applause of the multitude, and the

TERM OF THE CONSULATE.

approbation of men of sense. "Though not of kingly birth," says Sir Walter Scott, "Bonaparte shewed a mind worthy of the rank to which he had ascended." Industry, commerce, literature, art, had all received a new impetus from his patronage and example. Paris never, perhaps, presented so gratifying a spectacle of prosperity as in the year 1802. The admiration of foreigners, and more especially the English, was unbounded. The Revolution, instead of desolating France, as they had been taught to believe, appeared to have regenerated her. The price of the funds, "that great thermometer of public opinion," since the days of the Directory, had risen from seven to fifty-two. Every district of the Republic was tranquil: peace prevailed externally; and all things seemed to promise stability.

Napoleon was "all, and more than all," that any King of France had ever been; but it was necessary that his authority should be rendered permanent, in order that foreign powers might have that "reasonable ground to judge of the stability of his government," which Lord Grenville had made one of the greatest obstacles to negotiate with him for a peace. This was felt, in its full force, by the members of the Legislative bodies; and, accordingly, Chabot de l'Allier, in the Tribune, proposed that some splendid mark of national gratitude should be conferred on the First Consul, hinting that this might be best accomplished by prolonging the period of his Consulate for ten years. This proposition speedily produced a decree, which, being presented to Napoleon, met with a less ready or cordial reception than had been anticipated. "You consider," said he to Tronchet, who headed the deputation from the Legislature on the occasion, "that I owe to the public a new sacrifice of ease. Should the votes of the people command from me what your suffrage authorizes, I will cheerfully make it." Bonaparte's respect for the wishes of the people, in this instance, was merely intended to cover an appeal to them against the decision of their Representatives, who had not conferred all that his ambition desired. By vesting in the populace the right to refuse what the Senate had granted, it was evidently left to be inferred, that they had also power to grant more than had been originally offered. The matter being referred to the Council of State, that body, after a brief deliberation, published the following question, "Shall Napoleon Bonaparte be Consul for Life?"

CARNOT.—LA FAYETTE.

At the same time they provided that registers should be opened in all the public offices of the several departments, in which the citizens were enjoined to inscribe their votes. The result, at the end of three

weeks, was the unqualified assent of nearly three millions and a half of citizens, while those who registered their opposition amounted to less than a quarter of a million. Among the latter, however, were Carnot, La Fayette, and Latour Maubourg. Carnot, when he signed his name, is said to have exclaimed that he knew he was subscribing his own sentence of banishment. This proved not to be the case, however; Napoleon was never known to take vengeance on any one who professed open and manly opposition to his views; and Carnot, although he chose, at the time, to retire from the head of the War department, had a pension of a thousand francs granted him, and was sometime afterwards appointed chief inspector of reviews. La Fayette, who seems to have been attached to the First

CONSUL FOR LIFE.

Consul personally, and who was under some obligation to him for his release from the dungeons of Olmutz, addressed a letter to Bonaparte in justification of the step he had taken. "General!" he said, "when a man deeply sensible of the gratitude he owes you, and too feelingly alive to glory not to love yours, places restrictions on his suffrage, he is the less to be suspected that none will more rejoice to see you First Magistrate for Life of a free Republic. The 18th Brumaire saved France; and I, at this moment, enjoy the blessings of home through the liberal professions to which you stood pledged. In the Consulate we have since seen that healing system which, under the auspices of your genius, has done such great things; less grand, however, than will be the restoration of liberty. It is impossible that you, General, the first of that order of beings who, to appreciate themselves and take their proper rank, must embrace all ages, should wish that such a Revolution, fraught with so many victories, and so much blood, so many sorrows and prodigies, should have for the world and for yourself no other result than an arbitrary government. . . I owe it to the principles, the engagements, and the actions of my whole life, to be assured, before I give my vote, that the permanent Magistracy sought to be established is founded on a basis worthy of the nation and yourself."

Napoleon, on reading this letter, merely remarked, "La Fayette is a man of one idea. He is constantly harping on America, without understanding that the French are not Americans. I offered him a seat in the Senate; but he chose to decline it.—He is a political monomaniac. I can afford, however, to do without his vote."

The result of the appeal to the people having been declared, the Senate, on the 2nd of August, proclaimed Bonaparte Consul for Life, and waited upon him in the midst of a kingly levée, in which he was surrounded by a numerous assemblage of military and civil officers, together with all the members of the Diplomatic body then in Paris, to present him with the decree establishing his authority. The reply of Napoleon to the address of the President is chiefly remarkable for containing the words "Liberty and Equality." It was as follows:—"Senators! The life of a citizen belongs to his country. The people of France have required that mine should be devoted to their service. I obey their will. Through my efforts,

JOSEPHINE'S APPREHENSIONS.

and the concurrence of all the authorities, aided by the confidence and wishes of this great people, Liberty and Equality, and the prosperity of France, shall be established beyond the vicissitudes of chance, and the uncertainties of the future. The best of nations will be the happiest; and the felicity of the French people will contribute to that of all Europe. Then, satisfied with having been called by the fiat of Him from whom all emanates, to bring back to earth Justice, Order, and Equality, I shall hear the stroke of my last hour without regret, and without inquietude as to the opinions of the generations to come."

In the evening, the receptions at the Tuileries were exceedingly brilliant: every one being anxious to pay his respects to the great man whom the award of the people had now exalted to a level with the sovereigns of the earth. Bonaparte enjoyed his triumph with well-affected modesty; and in his conversation expressed such liberal sentiments, that Cambacérès seemed seriously afraid lest his extensive popularity might tend to make him too democratic. That he might not be induced to become so in reality, the Senate, on the 4th of August, passed a further law, authorizing the First Consul to appoint his successor, thus conferring on him a power superior even to that of hereditary monarchs. Josephine, meanwhile, trembled with apprehension, both for Bonaparte and herself. It was her firm opinion, that should he re-establish royalty in his own person, he would have laboured solely for the Bourbons. "The restoration of the throne," she argued, "leaves the question but a mere matter of family for the future; and if France must cease to have its chosen government, there will not be wanting persons to prefer the ancient race of kings to a family newly arisen." Perhaps, Josephine dreaded what subsequently took place. Napoleon, at all events, had already entertained thoughts of settling his dynasty and providing a successor; to which end he had procured the insertion of a clause in the Civil Code, authorizing the adoption of children as heirs, who should be considered to stand in as near a relation to the adopter as to the natural parent. At this time, and long afterwards, he contemplated adopting a son of one of his brothers.

The establishment of the Consulate for life, occasioned a corresponding change in the aspect of the Court; which, accordingly, was

CONSULAR COURT.

now put upon a more regal footing. The demeanour of the Officers of the Palace, the Ministers of the Republic, and Foreign Ambassadors, was regulated by the same etiquette as would have been observed towards a sovereign prince: indeed, not a few of those who had served the Burbons, under the old *régime*, obtained appointments in the Palace, in order that their memory might assist in bringing back the decorum of Monarchy. At first, some little awkwardness was observable among the Republicans, but this soon wore off; and the Court of Napoleon began to vie with those of the most brilliant periods of French history, in everything but the licentiousness of manners, and the light tone of conversation, which had prevailed before the Revolution. The dresses of the Court were altered: sabres and military boots began generally to give place to swords and silk stockings. Hair-powder, bags, and ruffles, resumed their sway. The ladies, however, being governed in matters of fashion by the amiable and virtuous Josephine, preserved the graceful and simple costume of the time, in preference to returning to the formal head-dresses and hoop-petticoats of the reign of Louis XVI.

Still further to heighten the external splendour of his Court, to attach to himself a large class of citizens, and to prepare the public mind for a restoration of Aristocracy on the ancient model, Napoleon, early in the month of May, had proposed to the Council of State the Institution of the *Legion of Honour*. The first idea of this Order had been suggested to him, by observing the great attention which the brilliant decorations of the Marquis Lucchesini, the Prussian Ambassador, procured from the French soldiers, and the populace of Paris. The existing system of rewards, too, for meritorious actions, was not well regulated. Some of the honorary distinctions, which the Government was authorized to confer, were accompanied by additional pay, while others were without remuneration—a system, the details of which necessarily occasioned great confusion, and the trifling advantages of which were limited to the military. Bonaparte wished to extend his order to distinguished citizens. “If the Legion of Honour were not to be the recompense of civil as well as of military services,” he said, “it would cease to be the Legion of Honour. The Cross of the Order should be the reversion of every one who may be an honour to his country, stand at the head of his profession, or con-

LEGION OF HONOUR.

tribute to the national prosperity and glory. It must be equally the decoration of soldiers as of officers. If ever it cease to be the recompense of the lowest class of the military, or if ever the civil order be deprived of it, it will be the Legion of Honour no longer."

This revival of the emblems of Nobility did not take place, however, without a struggle with those who appear to have foreseen that Royalty itself would soon follow. The opposition in the Council was stronger than it had been to any previous proposal from the same source. "Crosses and ribbands," said Berlier, "are the child's playthings of Monarchy. There existed no system of honorary rewards among the Romans, who, though divided into patricians and plebeians, were classed according to their birth, and not with reference to their services." Napoleon, with more warmth than he usually exhibited in such discussions, replied: "They are always talking to us of the

LEGION OF HONOUR.

Romans, who had social distinctions of the most marked character—patricians, knights, citizens, and slaves, with different costumes and manners for each class. Their recompenses, moreover, embraced all sorts of honorary rewards—mural crowns, civic crowns, ovations, triumphs, titles, all consecrated by the rites of their religion. They call all that ‘child’s rattles.’—Be it so: it is with such things that men are led. The French character has not been changed by ten years of revolution. The people are still what their ancestors, the Gauls, were, vain and light: but they are susceptible of one sentiment—*honour*; which it is right to cherish, by allowing distinctions. Observe how the people bow before the decorations of foreigners. The latter have been surprised themselves at the effect, and take care never to appear without them. We shall find no defenders of the Republic by reasoning: the soldier must be bribed with glory, distinction, rewards. The people require some institutions. If this is not approved, let some other be proposed. I do not pretend that it alone will save the State, but it will do its part.”

The question was carried in the Council by a majority of four only, out of twenty-four members; and, being shortly afterwards introduced to the Legislative bodies, was passed into a law, by a majority of seventy-four, out of three hundred and seventy. Rœderer, who proposed its adoption in the Senate, characterized the Institution as one which would serve to consolidate the Revolution. “It confers,” said he, “on military as well as civil services, the reward of patriotism, which they have so well merited. It blends them in the same glory, even as the Nation blends them in its gratitude. By a common distinction, it unites men already united by honourable recollections; it opens a friendly intercourse between those who are already disposed to esteem one another. It places under the shelter of their responsibility and their oaths, the laws in favour of Equality, Liberty, and Property. It effaces aristocratic distinctions, which placed hereditary glory before that which was acquired, and the descendants of great men before the great men themselves. It is a moral distinction which adds force and activity to that lever of honour which so powerfully impels the French nation. . . . Finally, it is the creation of a new species of coin, of a very different value to that which issues from the public mint; a coin which is drawn from the mine of the nation, and

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

must be regarded as the sole equivalent for actions superior to all other recompense."

The Order was formally instituted on the 15th of May, 1802, when a great number of Crosses, each of which entitled the owner to a pension from the State, and to a certain degree of individual precedence, were publicly distributed among the veterans of the Army,

and the most distinguished citizens of all professions. One was sent to Moreau, who, having never regarded Napoleon with much affection, especially after the expression of his sentiments concerning the concealment of Pichegru's treason, was disposed to sneer at the Institution. "Does not the First Consul know," he exclaimed, when the decoration was presented to him, "that I have belonged to the ranks of honour for these twelve years?" And a few days afterwards, dining in company with some officers, he proposed that they should vote a saucepan of honour to their cook, for his merit in dressing the dishes at table. To say the least, these exhibitions of jealous ill-humour betokened little dignity of mind in the hero of Hohenlinden.

It was during the summer of 1802, that Toussaint l'Ouverture, the celebrated negro chief of St. Domingo, was captured and brought to France. This person, originally a slave, had, soon after the breaking out of the French Revolution, joined those of his own race

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

in endeavouring to obtain for themselves a participation in the "Rights of Man" and Social Equality, of which so much was daily said in the Colonies, as well as the Mother Country. The white planters, when they asserted the principles of the new age, seem to have been entirely unmindful of the effect their precepts and example might have upon the blacks; to whom they certainly never thought of granting the liberty claimed for themselves. They even resisted the efforts of the free natives of colour to procure the privileges of citizenship, from which they had been hitherto excluded; and, eventually, a fierce war ensued between the white and mulatto population: in the midst of which occurred a general rising of the slaves, who loudly claimed independence for themselves, and gave a new complexion to the whole outbreak. After a variety of fortune, Toussaint, who had acquired the surname of L'Ouverture, from his daring courage, which made an *opening* every way in the ranks of his enemies, became a partisan of the French Republic, the Government of which had recognised the freedom of the negroes; and he was then appointed Commander-in-chief of the black forces in the island. Toussaint, however, was ambitious; and having heard of the deeds of Napoleon, desired to emulate that "First of the Whites," and become Dictator of an independent Republic—an assumption of power which Napoleon was not prepared to admit. It was a long time, however, before an open rupture took place. The negro chief, "the First of the Blacks, the Bonaparte of St. Domingo," had frequently written to Napoleon, in terms of submissive admiration; but having neglected an injunction to inscribe on the colonial banners the address of the First Consul,—“ Brave Blacks, remember that the French alone acknowledge your liberty, and the equality of your rights;” and having not only assumed authority over the colony for life, but invested himself with power to name his successor, he received no answer; till, at last, dreading that measures would be taken against himself, he called upon the population to prepare for a resistance to France, in case of invasion. Napoleon, exasperated at this conduct, immediately despatched an expedition against the island, under the command of his brother-in-law, Le Clerc, which, landing in the beginning of 1802, speedily reduced the blacks to submission. Toussaint, however, was permitted to retire to an estate,

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

which he had obtained during the war; but it was soon found, that so long as he was suffered to remain on the island, no authority but his would be uniformly or permanently obeyed. The negro chief was, therefore, entrapped into a breach of the conditions on which his pardon had been granted, surrounded and made prisoner, and immediately shipped for France.

The treachery and rigour exercised against Toussaint failed of its object. Instead of dispiriting the negroes, it added hatred, and a desire for vengeance, to their previously existing thirst for freedom. French domination has never been re-established in the island. Toussaint foresaw this. On his voyage to France, he said to the commander of the vessel in which he was a prisoner, "In overthrowing me, you have cast down only the trunk of the tree of negro liberty in St. Domingo. It will rise again from its roots, because they are many, and have struck deep." Soon after the arrest of Toussaint, Le Clerc was carried off by yellow fever; and Rochambeau, who succeeded to the command of the French, after being

POSITION OF NAPOLEON.

reduced to the utmost extremity of hunger, was compelled to abandon the colony, and surrender himself to a British squadron. The independence of Hayti was formally acknowledged on the 1st of January, 1804.

Toussaint, on arriving at Paris, was first committed to the prison of the Temple, whence he was subsequently transferred to the castle of Joux, near Besançon, in Normandy, where close confinement, change of climate, and the destruction of all his hopes, soon produced an attack of apoplexy, under which he died, on the 27th of April, 1803. The treatment of Toussaint and the negroes is one of the subjects on which Napoleon, at St. Helena, thought it necessary to plead his own cause with posterity. The fate of Toussaint bears a marked resemblance to that of Bonaparte, in all but the extent of their respective powers. It is singular, that while attempting to justify the deportation of the negro chieftain, it should never have occurred to him that he was furnishing an apology for those who had pronounced sentence of exile upon himself.

Napoleon, although he ardently desired the continuance of peace, in order to establish his own authority and the prosperity of France, seems from the first to have regarded the Treaty of Amiens as an involuntary act on the part of the English Ministry, in deference to public opinion, and therefore not likely to be of long duration. "The European Kings," he said, "regard their dominions as an inheritance; and this notion is strengthened by old habits. The Consulate of France is like nothing that surrounds it. I feel, therefore, that before we can hope for more solidity and good faith in pacific treaties, the form of the surrounding governments must approximate nearer to ours, or our political institutions must be more in harmony with theirs. Between old Monarchies and a new Republic, there will always be a spirit of enmity. Indeed, hated as we are by our neighbours, obliged to keep down various descriptions of malcontents in our own nation, we have need of brilliant achievements, and consequently of war. It is the misfortune of our situation, that such a government as that of France requires to dazzle and astonish, in order to maintain itself. It must be the first of all, or be overpowered." It was this conviction—that his power depended wholly upon his military genius and his sword—that prompted the First Consul to seize every opportunity of extending

HELVETIAN REPUBLIC.

his personal influence, and that of the Republic, upon the Continent, as a means of weakening his enemies and strengthening himself.

The Sovereign Powers had shewn their utter disregard for the rights and inclinations of the people, first, in the partition of Poland, and more recently in settling the indemnities rendered necessary by the surrender to France, in the treaty of Luneville, of a large extent of territory on the left bank of the Rhine. At this period, Sir Walter Scott says, "towns, districts, and provinces were dealt like cards at a gaming table; and Europe once more saw with scandal the government of freemen transferred from hand to hand, without regard to their wishes, aptitudes, and habits, any more than those of cattle: thus breaking every tie of affection between the governor and the governed, and loosening all attachments which bind subjects to their rulers, excepting those springing from force on one side and necessity on the other." It was natural that Napoleon should consider the foreign conquests of France as much at his disposal, as were the powerless German cities at the disposal of the Princes of the Empire. Accordingly, by a formal decree of the Government, he forthwith divided Piedmont into six departments, the Po, the Doire, the Sessia, the Stura, the Tanaro, and Marengo, and annexed the whole territory to France. Next, taking advantage of the dissensions and civil war which had arisen among the Swiss Cantons concerning the form of their government, after being released by the treaty of Luneville from the thralldom imposed upon them by the Directory, during Napoleon's absence in Egypt, he, at the request of some of the leading men of the Cantons, which adhered to the interests of France, assumed the title of Grand Mediator of the Helvetian Republic, in which capacity he dictated to them a new federative constitution, not greatly different, it may be added, from the old, and fully as liberal. There was nothing to complain of in the result of this act: it was merely the assumption of power that made it despotic; and the recognition of that power established the First Consul as virtual sovereign of Switzerland.

England was the only nation that ventured to remonstrate against this arbitrary interference of the French; but the reply of the First Consul was far from conciliatory. He demanded a performance of the stipulation, by which England stood pledged to restore Malta to

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the Knights of St. John—a condition which he well knew the British Government never intended to fulfil except upon compulsion. Unabashed by this retort, however, Mr. Addington sent an envoy to the Diet of Schweitz, to enquire by what means effective assistance could be afforded to the Cantons, to enable them to retain their independence: but even this message was too coldly received to justify hostilities in behalf of a people who seemed so content under usurpation. The Swiss, with a few exceptions, looked upon the Mediation as a happy one, which put an end to intestine discords, left them in possession of their ancient laws and customs, and merely exacted in return that their territory should no longer afford shelter to traitors against France, or allow a passage to the armies of her enemies for purposes of invasion. In the meantime, as if to fan the fires which were kindling around him, Napoleon caused to be published certain treaties which he had concluded with Turkey, Spain, and Portugal; by which those powers had conceded to France all the commercial privileges that had been granted to the most favoured nations, while Spain had agreed that Parma, on the death of the reigning Prince, should be added to the Republic, and Portugal had surrendered all claim to her province of Guiana.

The press both in England and France was not slow to catch the tone of the several governments upon these proceedings. In England, the ministerial papers were daily filled with the most unqualified abuse and ribaldry of the First Consul and his government. Every kind of public and private vice was attributed to him; and Josephine, her daughter Hortense, and the sisters of Bonaparte, were charged with the grossest licentiousness. Napoleon in derision was called the *Little Corsican*, and his humble birth was sneered at as a set-off against his achievements. “The French,” added the newspapers, “have chosen a ruler from an island whence the Romans would not even take a slave.” In order that these systematic calumnies might not fail of their desired effect through being misunderstood, a weekly miscellany, in the French language, called *L’Ambigu*, was established, under the direction of one Peltier, a furious Royalist, who made no scruple to blacken the character of his countrymen, when he found that by such a course he was certain of acquiring popularity and fortune. Napoleon suffered these annoyances to

PROSECUTIONS FOR LIBEL.

injure his temper. He had not learned, like the English themselves, to estimate newspaper malignity at its proper worth, by despising it. Accordingly M. Otto, the French Minister in London, was instructed to present an official note of complaint on the subject to the British Government. The reply was necessarily an unsatisfactory one. The Premier could only state, that criminal writing was punishable by the English laws like other delinquencies; the liberty of the press, one of the most valuable privileges of the British Constitution, being utterly incapable of infringement, and one with which no Minister would have the hardihood to attempt to tamper. "But though a foreigner," said Mr. Addington, "the First Consul is entitled to seek redress in the Courts of Law: in that case, however, he must be prepared to see reprinted, as portions of the process, all the libels which have given offence. The articles complained of have already sunk into oblivion. The wisest course seems to be, to treat such scurrility with contempt." Peltier, nevertheless, was prosecuted by the Attorney-General,—whether at the instance of Napoleon, after the judicious counsel he had received to abstain from such a proceeding, or, as hinted by Sir Walter Scott, for the mere purpose of affording greater publicity to that which was sought to be suppressed, does not appear. The defence was conducted by Sir James Mackintosh, whose speech on the occasion, which is said to have been one of the most brilliant ever made at the bar or in the forum, was so framed as to give additional poignancy to all the insults previously aimed at the First Consul, to impugn all his motives, and arraign the entire policy of his government. Although, therefore, Peltier was found guilty, the trial was considered a triumph on the part of the press; and, war being renewed before the ensuing term, the culprit was never brought up for judgment. The acrimony of the journalists after this step, was vented with more freedom and bitterness than ever. "Every gale that blows from England," said Napoleon, "is loaded with enmity and hatred against me." It was scarcely to be expected that the British Ministry should wholly escape slander under such a system of hostilities; though from the fact, that the French press was subject to surveillance, and could only fling reproach by authority, those attacks were probably most galling that came from the south of St. George's Channel.

The First Consul, however, had a more serious ground of complaint. Georges Cadoudal, and others, who had been concerned in the various attempts upon Napoleon's life, were openly patronized in England, by noblemen who uniformly supported the Government. The island of Jersey was a rendezvous for organized rebels, who thence issued their manifestoes to disturb the West of France, and incite the inhabitants to insurrection. The Princes of the House of Bourbon, who had political intrigues to conduct, found no locality so convenient, no place in which their proceedings would be so effectively screened and furthered, as London. M. Otto once more made a representation on the subject to the English Ministry, and desired that the conspirators might be ordered to quit the British territories; and, lest the freedom of the Constitution should be again pleaded, as an obstacle, the alien act was referred to as affording ample power for the dismissal of foreigners of dangerous character or conduct. The reply to this was cool and studied. "His Majesty," it was said, "neither encourages traitors in any scheme against the French Government, nor does he believe that any such exist; and while the unfortunate Princes and exiles alluded to, live in conformity to the laws of Great Britain and without affording to nations with whom she is at peace any valid or sufficient cause of complaint, his Majesty will feel it inconsistent with his dignity, his honour, and the common laws of hospitality, to deprive them of that protection which individuals resident within the British dominions can only forfeit by misconduct."

No one could mistake the purport of such an answer. The First Consul might digest its haughty tone as he best could. The overflowings of his chagrin found vent in the *Moniteur*; in which it was broadly asserted, that the English Ministry, through the journals in their pay, sought to arouse the Continental powers against France, and to renew the civil wars in La Vendée. "The *Times*," said one of the official paragraphs of the Consular organ, "is filled with invectives against France. All that can be imagined of low, base, and mean, that scurrilous paper attributes to the French Government. What is its object? Who pays for it all? . . . The isle of Jersey is filled with felons, condemned to death for crimes committed since the peace—for violation, murder, arson! The Treaty of Amiens

LIBELS.

stipulates, that persons accused of murder and felony shall be respectively delivered up: yet the miscreants at Jersey are sheltered and protected! Georges wears openly, in London, the red ribband given him in recompense for his share in the plot of the *Infernal Machine*, which wrought so much mischief in Paris, and killed thirty women, children, and peaceable citizens. This special protection justifies the belief, that had he succeeded in his design he would have been honoured with the Order of the Garter!"

These accusations and recriminations indicated anything but a lengthened duration of peace.

CHAPTER XV.

**RUPTURE OF THE PEACE OF AMIENS — WAR WITH ENGLAND — INVASION
THREATENED — CONSPIRACY OF GEORGES CADOUAL, PICHEGRU, AND
MOREAU — SEIZURE AND EXECUTION OF THE DUKE D'ENGHIEN.
1803—1804.**

ONG before the determining occasion arose, it is evident that a renewal of the war had been determined on by both England and France. Instead of smoothing such difficulties as lay in the way of a good understanding, each nation eagerly seized every pretext to provoke hostilities, without being actually the first to break the peace.

The British Ministry slowly, article by article, performed the stipulations to which the Government was bound. The French colonies were eventually given up; and, after considerable intervals, the Cape of Good Hope and the other Batavian settlements, together with Alexandria, were evacuated; but Malta was still retained by English forces, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of the First Consul, the Knights of St. John, and of those powers which desired that the peace should not be interrupted.

COMPLAINTS.

The first direct complaint against the First Consul was concerning the instructions given to the commercial Consuls of France in the British ports, who, in addition to collecting all necessary information for the furtherance of trade, were desired to procure plans of all the ports and harbours of Great Britain, with the soundings of each, and the winds necessary for vessels to enter and depart. It is stated, that the agents appointed for these duties were chiefly military men and engineers. The Government, informed of these directions, lost no time in intimating to the persons employed, that any one who should attempt to execute his commission, would be instantly ordered to quit the kingdom. Napoleon, who knew that England had already decided for war, thought it best, since the calamity could not be long averted, to precipitate it. "If they will always have war," he exclaimed, "it is better that this should be sooner than later; since every day tends to diminish in us the confidence inspired by our late victories. I will maintain peace, if our neighbours are disposed to keep it; but should they oblige me to have recourse to arms again, I shall consider it an advantage if they will do so, before we are enervated by ease and long inaction. At the same time, if we are forced into a war, we must change the political aspect of the Continent, and strike a great blow, terrible and unexpected." The French Government, notwithstanding, still professed to entertain a sincere desire for the preservation of peace and amity, and to urge the fulfilment of the Treaty of Amiens, by the delivery of Malta; which, after every diplomatic shift had been exhausted, seemed on the point of being ceded, when the publication of two reports in the *Moniteur* created a fresh obstacle, and raised the ire of the British Ministry to an absolute ferment. The first of these was a paper, drawn up by General Sebastiani, who had recently been sent into Turkey and Egypt, apparently for the purpose of exciting those powers against England, and exalting the power and greatness of Napoleon. The other contained an elaborate account of the forces and natural advantages of the Republic; and concluded with an irritating summary, "that Britain, single-handed, was unable to contend with France."

The English Ministry naturally demanded an explanation of these demonstrations; but were told, in reply, that the First Consul had an equal right to complain of the public patronage bestowed upon the

SPEECH OF GEORGE III.

"Narrative" of Sir Robert Wilson, then just published in England, and dedicated, by permission, to the Duke of York, containing much misrepresentation, and the most bitter invectives against Bonaparte, concerning the massacre of Jaffa, and the poisoning of the soldiers infected with the plague. Subjects for attack and recrimination were not wanting on either side. The French demanded the immediate evacuation of Malta: the English refused to comply, until the neutrality of that island should be guaranteed by some more responsible authority than a handful of Neapolitan soldiers. Russia and Austria were proposed, and rejected. The Citadel of the Mediterranean was considered worth the chances of another contest.

In the midst of the discussion, namely, on the 8th of March, 1803, a speech from the throne announced to the British Parliament, that in the unsettled state of affairs, the King required additional aid to enable him to defend his dominions, in case of an encroachment on the part of France: assigning as a reason, that the First Consul was making great naval and military preparations, which it was necessary to meet by corresponding augmentations on the part of his Majesty. "This," says Sir Walter Scott, "by placing the measures of Ministers upon simulated grounds, injured their cause. No such preparations, as were spoken of, had been complained of during the intercourse between the Ministers of France and England;"—in truth, none such existed. Napoleon had just been reading a despatch containing this speech, when, on the 13th of March, he had to give audience to the foreign ambassadors at the Tuileries. On entering the drawing-room, he observed Lord Whitworth near the door, and, stopping short, addressed him with considerable warmth: "What does your Cabinet mean?" he asked: "What is the motive for raising these rumours of armaments in our harbours? Can peace be already considered as a burden to be shaken off? Is Europe to be again deluged with blood?" Then addressing Count Marcoff and the Chevalier Azara, he continued, "The English wish for war; but if they draw the sword first, I will be the last to return it to the scabbard. They do not respect treaties, which we must henceforth cover with black crape." He then again turned to Lord Whitworth and said,—"To what end is this pretended alarm? Against whom do you take these measures of precaution? I have not a single ship of the line in any

DECLARATION OF WAR.

port of France. But if you arm, I will arm too: if you fight, I also will fight. You may possibly destroy France, but you cannot intimidate her!"—"We desire neither the one nor the other," answered Lord Whitworth; "but to live with her on terms of good intelligence."—"Respect treaties then," said Napoleon. "Woe to those by whom they are not respected!—they will be accountable for the consequences to all Europe." It is said that the First Consul appeared so violent during this scene, that the English Ambassador expected every moment to be struck; and, it is added, that in that case he was prepared to have run his sword through the aggressor's body. Such was the statement gravely made to the British House of Commons, some of the members of which affected to believe it.

From this period, the communications between the French and English Governments were formal and constrained, and limited exclusively to the question concerning the evacuation of Malta. England lowered her claim of retaining the island in perpetuity, to that of holding it for ten years; but Bonaparte would now listen to no modification of the Treaty of Amiens; and on the night of the 12th of May, Lord Whitworth quitted Paris—passports, without being solicited, being granted at the same time to the French envoys in London. Between this and the 18th, the day on which George III. declared war, the First Consul made a last attempt at negotiation, proposing that both Governments should accept the mediation of Russia or Prussia, and abide by their arbitration on all matters in difference: but, like all other pacific overtures, this was rejected.

Previously to the announcement in the *London Gazette* of the renewal of hostilities, orders had been issued for seizing all the French shipping in British ports: a measure by which two hundred vessels, containing property to the amount of three millions sterling, were obtained by the English Government. This, though not perhaps a departure from the usual custom of England on such occasions, was unlooked for by Napoleon, and exasperated him beyond measure. In retaliation for what he considered so base and wanton an outrage upon unoffending merchants, the moment he received information of it, he issued orders for detaining as prisoners of war all British subjects, then in France, of whatever age or condition. So utterly unexpected had been the declaration of England, that upwards of ten

MILITARY PREPARATIONS.


thousand of her people, chiefly of the higher classes of society, found themselves in a few days captives in a hostile country. Bonaparte has been greatly condemned for this unprecedented mode of reprisal: but it seems like the petulant outcry of those against whom their own weapons have been turned, to exclaim against the arrest of travellers, without, at the same time condemning the plunder of harmless traders, by which it was occasioned. Though made a standing reproach to Bonaparte, he never expressed the least regret for having acted as he did; but argued that he should have been justified in using greater rigour, in return for the degradation inflicted upon French prisoners of war, whom the English Ministry sent on board the hulks like convicts. Some exceptions, it may be added, were occasionally made in behalf of literary and scientific men, whom Bonaparte was in the habit of considering as citizens, not of one, but of every nation. The rest were condemned to linger out a long captivity, deprived even of the chance of being exchanged for French prisoners of war, a compromise which, though offered by Napoleon, the English Government disdained to accede to.

Though the First Consul certainly did not expect the continuance of peace, he was by no means prepared for the recommencement of hostilities. Many discharges, and almost unlimited leave of absence, had been granted to the infantry and cavalry, insomuch that most of the regiments, when called together at the first sound of war, were little better than skeletons. The artillery and field-equipages were broken up for recasting on a new plan. Nothing was in readiness when the moment for action arrived. The difficulties Napoleon had to contend with in meeting the emergency were immense; but his activity and resources seemed to increase under pressure; and he shewed no signs of dismay or embarrassment. His first step was to lay before the Legislative bodies, the various communications which had taken place previously to the rupture, which satisfying all persons that he had done everything on his part to preserve the peace, elicited the approval of the whole nation. The address of the Senate, in reply to his message, was accompanied with the present of a first-rate ship of war, paid for from the resources set apart for the salaries of the members. The large towns cheerfully voted sums necessary for building line-of-battle ships, to be named after the places contributing the means to

OCCUPATION OF HANOVER.

equip them. "Addresses poured in," says De Bourrienne, "from the four winds of heaven. Not a prefect, sub-prefect, mayor, or corporation, failed to send in a pledge of support."

The troops which had been stationed on the Lower Rhine, under the command of General Mortier, were now ordered to advance upon Hanover, where a considerable force, under the Duke of Cambridge and General Walmsloden, was speedily collected to meet them; but at the approach of their opponents they had the prudence to withdraw, without hazarding an engagement. The Duke of Cambridge, indeed, "in compassion to the Hanoverians," at once quitted the patrimonial dominions of his father, and set sail for England, leaving his colleague to settle the business of the campaign; the history of which was very accurately conveyed by the telegraphic despatch of Mortier to the War-office, at Paris:—"The French are masters of the Electorate of Hanover, and the enemy remain prisoners of war." The English



Ministry exclaimed against this, as they had against the detention of the travellers; it being, they said, an unprovoked aggression upon a neutral territory: but, as the Electorate and its resources had always

SURVEY OF THE COAST.

been made available to the British Sovereigns of the House of Brunswick during former wars, this outrage, as it was called, provoked very little sympathy. In answer to the remonstrance of the Emperor of Austria, as head of the Germanic Confederation, on the subject, Napoleon replied, that "he had no wish to make the conquest of Hanover, but merely to hold it until the King of England should see the necessity of evacuating Malta, according to the terms of the Treaty of Amiens." The Prince Royal of Denmark was the only person who exhibited any symptom of active resentment. He marched an army of thirty thousand men into Holstein; but, finding himself unsupported, he was soon glad to change his offensive attitude, offer explanations, and recall his troops. In the meantime the French cavalry were sent into Hanover, and remounted on Anglo-German horses, and the large military stores found in the Electorate were transported to France.

Napoleon next prepared, with an appearance of earnestness which he had at no previous time exhibited, for a descent on the coast of England; and in order to inform himself accurately of the practicability of the attempt, he left Paris on the 24th of June, in company with Josephine, to inspect, in person, the coasts and harbours of the channel. Passing through Compeigne, they visited the School of Arts and Manufactures, of which Father Berton, formerly principal of the Military School of Brienne, was superior; and several judicious changes were suggested in the management of the classes. At Amiens, the First Consul attended the exhibition of the manufactured productions of the department, with which he expressed himself highly pleased. In former times it had been the usage, when a King of France passed through the ancient capital of Picardy, to make a present of some beautiful swans as a mark of homage. This was not now forgotten. The swans of Amiens were offered to Napoleon, and sent to display their silver plumage in the basin of the Tuileries. He next proceeded by Montreuil, Etaples, Boulogne, Ambleteuse, Vimereux, and Calais, to Dunkirk; at each of which he strictly questioned the most skilful engineers and pilots, and carefully noted their replies. From Dunkirk, he went on through the principal towns and seaports to Brussels and Antwerp;—everywhere visiting the workshops and manufactories, and expressing his regret at being so soon obliged to withdraw his attention from the sources of national prosperity to other objects; everywhere giving directions

WORKS AT BOULOGNE.

as circumstances seemed to require; commanding repairs, new works, and improvements, with a degree of skill and intelligence, and a command of details, which astonished the most experienced engineers, who had all the extra advantage which a perfect knowledge of the localities could confer. The whole extent of coast presented the aspect of a vast arsenal. The troops seemed formed on the model of the Roman legions: the tools of artisans replacing in the hands of the soldiers the implements of war. The harbour of Boulogne was excavated in an almost incredibly short space of time, so as to be capable of containing upwards of two thousand vessels; and batteries were mounted upon every cape and headland, as if the whole line of coast had been that of a beleaguered city.

During this journey, Napoleon and his consort were everywhere welcomed with the most enthusiastic acclamations. The authorities of the different towns went out to meet and harangue them; triumphal arches and military devices spanned the roads; and illuminations and bonfires testified the zeal and admiration of the populace at night. The gentry and citizens formed guards of honour, attending the General during his stay, and escorting him on his road. Well might Duroc write to a friend in Paris:—"How the people love the First Consul! When shall we pay a visit to London, with the brave fellows around us?" It is worthy of remark, that this period was chosen to forego the usual formalities, incident to signing consular decrees. These were now dated from the palaces and places from which they happened to be issued, and ran in the name of *the Government*, instead of the Consuls; a change calculated to teach the people to look for the Government to Napoleon alone.

The exertions of the First Consul, during the whole of the summer and autumn of 1803, and indeed so long as he continued to entertain serious thoughts of the invasion of England, were incessant. One day the journals announced his arrival at St. Cloud. Two or three days later, it was stated that he had inspected the works at Ambleteuse, Rochefort, Dieppe, or Gravelines; superintended reviews, or directed new operations; and almost immediately after, a grand parade in the Place du Carrousel, followed by a public audience, shewed that he was again in the capital. He usually travelled in the night, taking what repose he could in his carriage, and devoting the day to labour.

PREPARATIONS OF ENGLAND.

His Aide-de-camp, Rapp, speaking of the duties required from those in attendance on Napoleon at this time, said, "One would absolutely require to be made of iron to support it. The First Consul lives on his horse and in his carriage. He has no sooner alighted from the latter, than away he goes on horseback for ten or twelve hours together. He talks with the men, and sees and examines everything himself." The coolness of his head seemed to keep pace with the hurry of his movements, and the distinctness of his perception with the complication of affairs and interests he had to attend to. Every town and village of France seemed imbued with a portion of the energy and activity of their Chief. In places where it would have been useless to build ships of the line or large vessels, gun-boats and shallops were constructed on the banks of navigable rivers or canals, and when finished floated to the sea, round the shores of which they crept towards the appointed rendezvous, under the protection of the cannon on land.

The troops, meanwhile, quitted their garrisons, and formed camps upon the coast, extending from Utrecht to the mouth of the Somme. The divisions of Marmont, Ney, Lannes, Victor, Soult, Davoust, and Junot, covered the plains from the Scheldt to the mouths of the Oise and the Aisne. Piers were constructed, bridges built, sluices opened, basins excavated, ports formed, magazines collected, cannon founded, and sails and cordage made, with a celerity which appeared like the effect of enchantment. It is not to be wondered at that surrounding nations stood aghast at the ambition of Napoleon, when it was sustained by such a genius, such indefatigable industry, and the power, as it seemed, to accomplish whatever its possessor projected.

The spirit and enterprise of England, like that of her enemy, seemed to rise as danger thickened around her. At no previous period of her history had she displayed capacity to make such a formidable naval and military array. Upwards of five hundred ships of war, of various descriptions and sizes, covered the ocean. Every French port in the Channel was blockaded by divisions of the British fleet, which waited impatiently for the moment when the flotillas, intended for the invasion, should attempt to quit their harbours. The English cruisers, indeed, not content with the mastery of the high seas, frequently stood in and cannonaded the fortresses of the enemy, or

MILITARY ENTHUSIASM.

threw shells into Havre, Dieppe, Granville, and even Boulogne. Parties of seamen and marines occasionally landed, cut out vessels, destroyed signal posts, and dismantled batteries; damping the confidence of the French, and inspiring the British with renewed courage

and perseverance. There was not a fishing-boat but seemed to have had new life put into it, and to be prepared for the conflict. On land the determination and zeal of the English people were not less than those manifested on their peculiar element. To nearly a hundred thousand troops of the line, were added upwards of eighty thousand militia, well trained and disciplined, and a volunteer force, computed at three hundred and fifty thousand men, well officered, efficiently equipped, and hearty in the common cause. Beacons were erected in conspicuous places, corresponding with each other, all around and through the island; and the high spirit and alacrity of the citizen-soldiers were attested, on many occasions of false alarm, by the eagerness with which they rushed to the points of supposed danger. Martial and patriotic songs resounded from every hall and cottage; and on every church-door in the kingdom was posted a spirit-stirring call upon high and low, rich and poor, to unite in defence of their country. "On a sudden," says Sir Walter Scott, "the land seemed

CONSPIRACY.

converted into an immense camp, the whole nation into soldiers, and the good old King himself into a General-in-chief."

In the midst of these active operations on either side, the Royalists, who since the failure of the *Infernal Machine* plot, had scarcely ventured to shew themselves as a party, set on foot a series of intrigues for the overthrow of the government of Napoleon—principally, it is said, at the instigation of England. Pichegru, having escaped from Cayenne, whither he had been exiled for his former treasons, had been for some time living in London, in close correspondence with the Bourbon Princes and their agents. The English Ministry suggested the practicability of raising an insurrection once more in La Vendée, and of bringing over Moreau, who was known to be inimically disposed towards the First Consul, on account of his inroads upon the Republican Constitution, and his superior elevation as a soldier and a man. The influence of the victor of Hohenlinden would, it was conceived, detach many of the soldiers from their present Chief; and at least create such general consternation, as would lead to the speedy abandonment of the projected descent upon Britain. It is not at all probable that the Government of England sanctioned, or were privy to any more sinister designs in the agents it thought fit to employ, than those of creating what may, in cases of disputed thrones, be called legitimate rebellion. The rising in the West of France was to be favoured by a descent of the Royalists, under the Duke de Berri, on the coast of Picardy. The Duke d'Enghien, grandson of the great Prince of Condé, fixed his residence at the castle of Ettenheim, in the territories of the Margrave of Baden, for the purpose of being ready on the frontier, to put himself at the head of the insurgents, either in the East of France, or at Paris, as occasion should require. Pichegru, however, was more unscrupulous than his employers; and he, Georges Cadoudal, and other Chouans, whom they associated with them in the enterprise, concerted measures to assassinate the First Consul, whom they deemed an insuperable obstacle to the restoration of the Bourbons.

Between the months of August, 1803, and January, 1804, an English captain, named Wright, found opportunity to land about thirty of the conspirators, by night, at the foot of the cliff of Beville, near Dieppe, which they ascended by means of the *smuggler's rope*,

and concealing themselves during the day-time, and travelling by night, under pretence of being smugglers, they reached Paris, which they entered singly, by different avenues, and contrived, unobserved, to reach the places of concealment which had been previously procured for them. Pichegru speedily found means to communicate with Moreau, who is said to have disapproved of the rising and its object—he being still a staunch Republican. It is certain, however, that Pichegru called upon him more than once; and that, on at least one occasion, Georges was admitted to his presence, and suffered to narrate in detail the scheme for Napoleon's assassination: it is equally certain, also, that no warning voice, as to the impending danger of the head of his government, was raised by the second General of the French Republic. Indistinct rumours of approaching changes at length began to create alarm. Intelligence was received, at the same time, of meetings held among the peasantry and others in La Vendée; and in some intercepted letters, addressed by their friends in London to returned emigrants, it was confidently predicted, that the career of the First Consul would soon be at an end. The police were now on the alert, and several suspected persons were arrested; among whom was a surgeon of the name of Querel, who, on being promised a pardon, confessed all that he knew of the plot, and gave such a clue as led to the apprehension of the whole band. Moreau was taken on the 15th of February, 1804; and large rewards were, at the same time, offered for Georges and Pichegru, who were known to be in Paris, but contrived for some time to elude their pursuers. On the last day of February, however, Pichegru was betrayed, for the consideration of a hundred thousand francs, by the man in whose house he was secreted; and six gens-d'armes were sent to seize him. He was a large, powerful man; and his character for personal courage and determination was such that, notwithstanding the disparity of force, the police waited till he was ascertained to be asleep before they would venture to encounter him: then, striking out the light burning at his bed-side, and overturning the table on which were his pistols, they sprung upon him as he lay, and, after overpowering the feeble resistance he was able to offer, pinioned him and conveyed him before the grand judge, by whom he was immediately committed to the Temple. The capture of Georges, however, was

THE DUKE D'ENGHIEN.

considered of greater importance than that of any; and he was still at large. To prevent his escape, the capital was surrounded by a cordon of troops, and the barriers were closed night and day: being opened only for the market-people, and such as could give a satisfactory account to the police, to pass and repass. At length, after being driven from lurking place to lurking place, shunned by all his former associates, he was arrested in a cabriolet, while attempting to gain egress from the city. He had been riding about Paris in this and similar vehicles for two days, not daring to enter a house for a moment's rest or refreshment.

On their examination, two of Georges' servants stated that a tall, gentlemanly man, of thirty-four or thirty-five years of age, with light hair and bald forehead, had latterly been in the habit, at intervals of ten or twelve days, of visiting at their master's lodgings, where he had been invariably received with the greatest respect—Georges himself attending him at the door, and he and Messrs. de Polignac and Rivière, remaining unseated during the stranger's stay. This personage it was immediately conjectured must be one of the Bourbon Princes; and as the description answered neither to the Count d'Artois nor the Duke de Berri, suspicion immediately fell upon the Duke d'Enghien, who was known to be at Ettenheim, and to be a man of courage and enterprise, and who moreover was implicated by other depositions in the purposed rising of the Royalists. The stranger was eventually proved to be Pichegru; but the consequences of the disclosure fell upon the head of D'Enghien. It was ascertained that the latter was sometimes absent, for several days, from his residence, and that he could just go to Paris and be back at his retreat between the periods stated for the visits of the mysterious friend of Cadoudal. The thought no sooner suggested itself, than the First Consul issued orders for the instant seizure of the Duke and his attendants: and, on the evening of the 15th of March, a party of French soldiers and gens-d'armes crossed the frontier, surrounded the castle in which the Prince resided, and, arresting him and his household, conveyed them forthwith to the citadel of Strasburg. Here he was separated from all his attendants, except the Baron de St. Jacques his secretary; he remained at Strasburg till the 18th, when he was called up at midnight, and informed that he must instantly prepare for a journey. He

TRIAL OF THE PRINCE.

reached Paris on the 20th, and, after being detained for five hours at the barrier, was driven to the neighbouring castle of Vincennes, which had been long used as a state prison. A commission had been already appointed to try him, consisting of seven officers of regiments of the garrison of Paris, with General Hulin, the Commandant, as President. These persons met late on the evening of the Prince's arrival, in one of the large rooms of the inhabited part of the castle. Although the trial did not commence till past ten at night, a great number of persons appear to have been present to witness it, insomuch that Savary, to whom the command of the fortress of Vincennes had been that day entrusted, could scarcely get through the crowd when he reached the Court. The trial—as all similar trials by special commission, or without the intervention of a jury, must be—was a bitter mockery of justice. The Duke avowed his services in the army of Condé against France, and his receipt of a large pension from England; but denied all knowledge of Pichegru and his conspiracy. "I had applied to England," he said, "for an appointment in her armies, and been answered that she had none to give me; but that I was to remain upon the Rhine, where I should soon have a part to act; and for that I was waiting."

He was found guilty upon the several charges preferred against him—Of having borne arms against his country; of having been and still being in the pay of England; and of being a party to the recent conspiracy against the government and life of the First Consul. Before judgment was passed, he earnestly solicited a private interview with Napoleon. "My name, my rank, my principles, and the horror of my situation," he said, "induce me to hope that he will not deny this request." The entreaty, unhappily, was not conveyed to the First Consul till the Duke was dead. The Prince was conducted back to his chamber, where he almost instantly fell into a deep sleep; from which, however, he was shortly afterwards aroused to hear and undergo his sentence.

Orders were given that his grave should be dug in the court-yard; but as there was no time to remove the pavement, the castle-ditch was finally fixed as the place of interment. About six in the morning he was led down a winding stair through a postern beneath the walls, where six gens-d'armes were already drawn up to perform the

DEATH OF D'ENGHIEN.

melancholy act. Captain d'Autancourt gave the word, the illustrious victim fell, and the body, dressed as it was, and uncoffined, was thrown into its narrow resting-place.

The death of the Duke d'Enghien caused a great sensation among the Royalists in France, and throughout Europe. It has generally been held up to execration, as an act of unprovoked assassination on the part of Napoleon. Undoubtedly it was an unjust and indefensible proceeding, if viewed, as it should be, through a moral or legal medium. Those who have regarded the question as merely involving a point of policy, have attempted to defend it on the ground of expediency. The affair, however, appears to be one on which argument is thrown away. Though certainly not a wholly gratuitous crime, it will not admit of justification. The seizure, in a neutral territory, was contrary to law; the Duke was convicted, without sufficient evidence, and executed upon an irregular sentence. The whole business, according to Napoleon's own admission, had been pre-arranged: even the order for execution had been drawn up before the arrival of the prisoner, and only remained for signature, after a

form of hearing had been hastily gone through. It is but fair, however, that Bonaparte should be heard in reply to the accusations heaped upon him. "If I had not in my favour the laws of my country," he said, when at St. Helena, "I should still have had the right of the law of nature, of legitimate self-defence. The Duke and his party had constantly but one object in view, that of taking away my life. I was assailed on all sides with air-guns, infernal machines, plots, and ambuscades of every kind. Blows, threatening my existence, were aimed at me day after day, from a distance of a hundred and fifty leagues, without a possibility of my obtaining redress from any tribunal. At last I grew weary, and took an opportunity of striking terror in London. Who can blame me, that I used the right of nature, and returned war for war? Those who foment civil dissensions, or excite political commotions, expose themselves to become victims. It would be a proof of imbecility, or madness, to imagine or pretend, that a whole family should have the strange privilege to threaten my existence, without giving me the right of retaliation. They could not reasonably pretend to be above the law, to destroy others, yet claim the benefit of it for their own preservation. The chances must be equal. A great nation had chosen me for its Governor: almost all Europe had sanctioned the choice. My blood was not ditch-water; and it was time to place it on a par with that of the Bourbons. . . The Duke d'Enghien had been seen at Strasburg; it was believed that he had been in Paris; and it was known that he purposed to enter France by the east, while the Duke de Berri disembarked in the west, at the moment the plot of Georges and Pichegru should be ripe for execution. . . . If I had acted right, I should have followed the example of Cromwell, who, on the discovery of the first attempt made to assassinate him, the plot of which had been hatched in France, caused it to be signified to the French King, that if the like occurred again, he, by way of reprisal, would order assassins to be hired to murder him and a Stuart. Now, I ought to have publicly signified, that on the next attempt at assassination, I would cause the same to be made upon the Bourbon Princes: to accomplish which last, indeed, I had only to say, that I would not punish the perpetrators." Bonaparte added, that "had the Prince's request for an interview been stated to him in time, or had he known

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more of the opinions or disposition of the Prince, he should, in all probability, have forgiven him ; and that he should have derived great political advantages from so doing : but that he did not feel that he had committed a crime, we have the most convincing testimony, in a solemn codicil to his last will, which runs thus :—" I caused the Duke d'Enghien to be arrested and tried, because that step was essential to the safety, interest, and honour of the French people, when the Count d'Artois, on his own confession, was maintaining sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances, I would again act in the same way."

Mr. Pitt, who had returned to the head of the British Cabinet, on the renewal of hostilities, exclaimed, on hearing of D'Enghien's execution, " Bonaparte has wrought himself more mischief by this act than we have been able to inflict on him since the first declaration of war." The only Continental Prince that attempted to speak out upon the subject was Alexander of Russia ; but his remonstrance was quietly silenced by Talleyrand, with an allusion to the supposed connivance of the Emperor at the murder of his own father, the unfortunate Paul. The only distinguished Frenchman who openly expressed an opinion on the subject was Chateaubriand, who had just been appointed ambassador to the Valais, and had been honoured with his audience of leave on the very morning of the tragical event. Immediately, on learning what had taken place, he indignantly sent in his resignation, with an intimation that he could not serve under a government sullied with blood. Many persons, it may be added, were thenceforward alienated from the First Consul, who had been previously disposed to regard him with some degree of favour, for his exertions in removing the rigorous laws of the Revolutionists, and restoring order and prosperity to the country. The Jacobins, on the contrary, appear to have become more reconciled to him, when he, like them, had become the slayer of a Prince : a pledge that, at least, the odious Bourbons would not be recalled to tyrannise over and take vengeance on them. The conspiracy of Georges and his companions had for its object the re-establishment of monarchy in France ; and that consummation, though not in the way desired, there is no doubt it greatly accelerated.

Napoleon, by the machinations against him, was made to appear the

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sole obstacle to the accomplishment of the designs of the enemies of the Republic. It was natural for those who benefitted by his government to place a higher value upon his services, in proportion to the frequency with which his opponents singled him out as the individual mark of their malice. The death of D'Enghien made little impression upon the nation. He had fought against France: it was generally believed that he was leagued with assassins; and it had not yet ceased to be a matter of regret, that Napoleon had abolished the holiday instituted by the Convention, to commemorate the death of Louis XVI. The want of similarity, in external forms, between the French Government and those of surrounding nations, was said to be the chief cause of the hostilities in which the various states of Europe had been so long embroiled. It now began to be publicly said, "If the throne must be restored, before we can hope for tranquillity, let us at least place on it him whom we have found most worthy to be our Sovereign and Protector."

CHAPTER XVI.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE—TRIAL OF GEORGES AND THE CONSPIRATORS—PROTEST OF THE COUNT DE LILLE—IMPERIAL VISIT TO THE CAMP AT BOULOGNE—BRUSSELS—THE RHINE—RETURN TO PARIS. 1804.

SEVERAL ambiguously worded addresses, congratulating him on his escape from the daggers, which were asserted to have been aimed at his life by the agents of England, and urging him to perfect the good work which he had commenced, were presented from various bodies in the State to the First Consul, immediately after the death of the Duke d'Enghien. One of these was from the Senate, which broadly hinted at what, by this time, must have been well-understood, by those in the habit of hearing his private sentiments, to have been the desire of Napoleon. "On viewing those

attempts," said the President of that body, "from which Providence has saved the Hero necessary to its designs, we are struck with one primary reflection, that, in the destruction of the First Consul, the annihilation of the independence of France has been contemplated. The English and the traitors know that your fate involves that of the French people. Give us, then, institutions so combined, that they may survive you. It is not enough that you found a new era, unless you render it immortal; for what is splendour without duration. To you we are indebted for our rescue from the chaos of the past; to you we are grateful for the blessings of the present: it must be yours, also, to guarantee to us the future."

Neither to this, nor other similar addresses, was any answer at first returned: as none had expressly stated what all seemed obscurely to intimate.

Scarcely a month had elapsed, however, when Curée, a member of the Tribune, spoke out more explicitly what he conceived to be the wishes of the people. On the 30th of April, in an elaborate speech on the state of the Republic, that orator delivered a glowing eulogium on the merits of the General who had delivered France from the domination of the Sections, from the tyranny of the Directory, and from the presence of foreign foes, shewing that the internal peace and prosperity of the country were solely attributable to his genius, and that the continuance of those blessings was only to be hoped for by securing his services for the future. "Let us hasten, then," he said, "to dissipate political illusions, by demanding for the nation the hereditary transmission of the supreme magistracy. By placing at the head of the Government an hereditary chief, we shall bar the return of a master. But at the same time, while we create a great power, let us give it a great name—one which shall convey an idea of the highest civil functions, recall the most glorious remembrances, and breathe no taint upon the sovereignty of the people. For the guardian of a great nation there is no title more befitting than that of EMPEROR. Who better merits the designation of 'Victorious Consul,' which it implies? What people, what armies, were ever more worthy than those of France, that such should be their leader's title?" Curée concluded, by moving, that "Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul, be proclaimed Emperor; that the Imperial dignity be declared hereditary

NAPOLÉON EMPEROR.

in his family; and, that the National Institutions be definitively settled." The proposal was hailed with enthusiasm. The Tribunes followed each other with speeches, every one more full of adulation than its predecessor: and a crowd pressed forward to inscribe their assent on the roll in which the proceedings were registered. One voice alone was raised in opposition—it was that of the inflexible Carnot. "The First Consul," he said, "has saved France by the assumption of the Dictatorship: but, like Fabius, Camillus, and Cincinnatus, of yore, when his work is accomplished, he ought to lay aside his power, and retire to the station of a private citizen. Even granting that Napoleon himself cannot be too much trusted, or too largely rewarded, for his services, is it possible to render his virtues and talents, his skill as a soldier and a politician, hereditary? Why should the fortunes of posterity be committed to chance? It should never be forgotten that Domitian was the son of the wise Vespasian, Caligula of Germanicus, and Commodus of Marcus Aurelius. But though," added the sturdy Republican, "I oppose the alteration of the Government on the score of principle and conscience, if the proposal shall be adopted by the nation, I shall be among the first to yield implicit obedience to its will."

From the Tribunate, Curée's proposal was immediately handed to the Senate, who forthwith prepared a *senatus-consultum*, declaring Napoleon EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH. The sole opponents of the measure in that chamber were Grégoire, Lambrechts, and Garat. The decree of the Senate was presented at St. Cloud, on the 18th of May, by Cambacérès, at the head of the Legislative bodies. In reply to the address of the Second Consul, who stated that France had found it necessary for her happiness, her glory, and prosperity, to render the government hereditary in the family of the First Consul, Napoleon replied: "Whatever can conduce to the good of the country, is essential to my happiness. I, therefore, accept the title which you consider useful to the glory of the nation. To the sanction of the people, however, I submit the law of the succession; and hope that France will never repent of the honours with which she has surrounded my family. At all events, my spirit shall not abide with my posterity, beyond the day on which they cease to deserve the love and confidence of the Great Nation."

MARSHALS.

The Senate next waited upon Josephine, to salute her as Empress, and congratulate her on ascending the throne, which she was in every way so well qualified to adorn.

The first imperial act of Napoleon, on the day of his elevation, was to nominate his brother, Joseph, to the dignity of Grand Elector; and Louis to that of Constable of the Empire—Cambacérès, at the same time, being appointed Arch-Chancellor, and Lebrun, Arch-Treasurer. On the following day, a grand levée was held at the Tuileries—one of the most brilliant, as well as the most numerous, that had ever been held there. Bessières, in the name of the now Imperial Guards, delivered an address to the Emperor; who replied with the same frankness and soldier-like dignity which had always marked his conduct towards the troops. The officers of the army were presented by Louis, in his capacity of Constable. Everything had already assumed an aspect of State formality; at the general awkwardness of which, it is said, there were some smiles among those to whom the etiquette and ceremonies of courts was not so new as to the men whose greatness had arisen subsequently to the commencement of the Revolution. On the same day, the following Generals—men whose names are scarcely inferior to that of their great companion in arms—were nominated Marshals of the Empire:—Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellerman, Le Febvre, Perignon, and Serrurier.

The family of Napoleon were now Princes and Princesses; and he, not what he had once sighed to be, King of the petty territory of an eastern Pachalick, but the Sovereign of his beloved France—the most powerful, if not the most extensive, state in Europe. A soldier of fortune, who, less than nine years before, had been compelled to sell his carriage, pledge his watch, and occasionally be indebted to humble friends for a dinner—he now found himself surrounded with a degree of pomp and majesty, surpassing that of any absolute Monarch of modern times! There have been, and will long continue to be, many conflicting opinions on the prudence and policy of his exaltation, and whether this was not in reality the principal occasion of his subsequent overthrow: thus much, however, is certain, that it was not more to gratify his own ambition, than in obedience to the

TRIAL OF CONSPIRATORS.

public voice, called forth by the services he had rendered to the country, and the institutions he had founded for perpetuating its prosperity, that he took upon him the power and rank of the illustrious Charlemagne. That Napoleon felt and recognised the source of his authority, was evinced by his referring to the people the question concerning the hereditary transmission of the title conferred on him; and this constituted the essential distinction between his empire, and that of the Sovereigns by divine right, who were scandalized less at his assumption of equality with them, than at his appeal to the populace for a confirmation of that equality, seeing that they derived their dominion merely from conquest, or political intrigue and barter.

While the suffrages of the citizens were being collected in the provinces, the few conspirators who remained to be apprehended, after the arrest of Georges, were secured; and the whole band, with the exception of Pichegru, who, unable to endure the infamy of his situation, fell by his own hand in prison, were brought to trial. Against Moreau, the full extent of evidence was not pressed. It was felt to be sufficient, perhaps, that recent events had confirmed the suspicions which had formerly been attached to his name; and that

EXECUTION OF GEORGES.

his influence with the army, on which he had relied for support, was destroyed by the knowledge of his treachery. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment; but, at the intercession of his wife, seconded by Josephine, one of whose companions Madame Moreau had been in the West Indies, this was commuted to two years' banishment from France. Napoleon would have saved Georges, and attached him to his own person and government. "He has nerve," said the Emperor, "and in my hands would be capable of great things." He was offered pardon, and the command of a regiment, if he would pledge his word to abandon the cause of the Bourbons, and become a faithful subject to the new dynasty. "My companions followed me into France," replied Georges; "I will follow them to death." The conduct of the man had long been that of a brigand; but there were feelings and sentiments within him which would have done honour to the nature of the best and bravest. Napoleon had strongly remarked upon his character, on a former occasion, when he dismissed him merely with an admonition to continue peaceable for the future: it was, therefore, with sincere regret that the alternative of condemning him to death, or affording him a further opportunity to concert dangerous plots, obtruded itself. "Nothing but the necessity of my position," said the Emperor, "would induce me to assent to his execution. But if I make no examples, England will pour upon me all the lees of emigration." In the end, Cadoudal and eleven of his accomplices were led to the scaffold: the former requesting, as a favour, that he might die first, in order that his companions, to whom it had been reported that his life would be spared, and he be received into favour, should have an assurance in death that he would not survive them.

The good Josephine had exerted herself greatly in favour of all the condemned, taking charge of petitions on their behalf, and procuring audiences for more than one of their female relatives, to whose entreaties she knew that the Emperor would do violence to his feelings if he turned a deaf ear. Armand de Polignac and De Rivi re were indebted to this influence for the clemency which they experienced. It was not, however, solely to those who were enabled to make interest at Court, that Napoleon extended mercy. The sister of one of the criminals, a humble and unfriended maiden, went to St. Cloud, and

COUNT DE LILLE.

watching an opportunity to throw herself at the feet of the Emperor, implored the life of her brother with such earnest affection, that her prayer could not be withstood. Of those condemned to death, the sentence of eight was commuted to exile. The rest of the conspirators, among whom was Jules de Polignac, were imprisoned or banished, according to the extent of their guilt, or the degree of influence they possessed to endanger the State.

The Count de Lille, who was at Warsaw when the Imperial dignity was conferred upon the First Consul, no sooner heard of that event, than he addressed a protest to the various Courts of Europe against the usurpation, as he termed it, of his right. Fouché, who wished to be appointed to the head of the police, which had been suppressed after the peace of Amiens, but re-established on the detection of Georges' conspiracy, having obtained a copy of this document, which had been privately circulated among the Royalists, hastened with it to the Emperor. "Well," said the latter when he had read the production, "my right is the will of France; and while I have a sword I shall maintain it. It is proper, however, that the Bourbons and their friends should know that I fear them not. Let this production of the Count be printed to-morrow in the

PROTEST.

Moniteur, that the people of the Faubourg St. Germaine may read it at their ease, instead of hawking it secretly from house to house." The protest was certainly an injudicious proceeding on the part of Louis, recognising, as it did, the voice of the nation in the exaltation of the new Sovereign. It was the interest of the Bourbons to endeavour to keep Bonaparte and France distinct in the ideas of their partisans. There can be no doubt that Napoleon saw this when he directed the publication of the paper. It ran as follows:—"In assuming the title of Emperor, and desiring to render it hereditary in his family, Bonaparte has put the seal to his usurpation. This new act of a revolution, in which all from the commencement has been null, cannot assuredly invalidate my claims; but, accountable for my conduct to all Sovereigns, whose rights are not less threatened than mine, and whose thrones are shaken by the same dangerous principles which the Senate of Paris has dared to publish,—accountable also to France, to my family, and my honour,—I conceive I should betray the common cause by keeping silence. As opportunity served, I have renewed my protestations against all those illegal acts which, since the opening of the States General, have brought France to the frightful crisis in which she and Europe are now plunged: I now declare in presence of all Sovereigns, that far from recognising the imperial title with which Bonaparte has caused himself to be invested, by a Senatorial body which has not even a legal existence, I protest against that title, and against all the subsequent acts to which it may give rise." The appearance of the protest in the official paper of the government, added to the fact that Napoleon had been recognised and congratulated as Emperor, on his accession to the throne, by all the Sovereigns in Europe, except those of England, Russia, and Sweden, attached to the procedure a character of absurdity.

The 14th of July, the Fête of the Taking of the Bastille, and of the first Federation of the Republic, had been looked to with curiosity by many, who deemed that its celebration would involve some contradiction to the Imperial policy, and that it would, therefore, be suppressed. Napoleon, however, saw nothing anomalous in its observance, and, therefore, issued express orders for that purpose; enjoining, however, that it should be deferred till the following day, Sunday, in order that it might not occasion an unnecessary waste of

FÊTE OF JULY.

time, or interfere with the industry of the people. This was the first time that any display had been made of the pomp which was now to attend the Imperial Court. The carriage of Josephine traversed the gardens of the Tuileries, while Napoleon with a brilliant escort of marshals, imperial officers, and guards, proceeded on horseback to the Hôtel of Invalids, where a throne and chair of state had been prepared for the royal pair. Cardinal Belloy, Archbishop of

Paris, at the head of the clergy, received the Emperor at the entrance of the Church, no longer the temple of Mars, and gave him his benediction. Mass was performed; and afterwards De Lacépède, Grand-Chancellor of the Legion of Honour, pronounced a discourse, eulogising Napoleon for the laws and institutions by which he had consolidated the regeneration of the Republic, so auspiciously com-

CAMP AT BOULOGNE.

menced on the 14th of July, 1789; and concluded by summoning the officers of the order to the foot of the altar. The Emperor then rose, and assuming his hat, after the example of the ancient Kings of France, when holding a Court of Justice, said in a firm voice, while profound silence reigned throughout the immense assembly:—"Commanders, officers, legionaries, citizens, soldiers! You swear upon your honour to devote yourselves to the service of the Empire; to the preservation of its territory in full integrity; to the defence of the Emperor, of the laws of the Republic, and of the rights which these have consecrated; to combat by all means authorized by justice, reason, and the laws, every enterprise which shall tend to re-establish the feudal system; in short, you swear to aid, with all your power, in the maintenance of liberty and equality, the prime basis of our institutions. Do you swear this?"

All the members of the Legion with one voice exclaimed, "I swear!" and enthusiastic cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" ascended from the populace within and without the sacred edifice. Some crosses were then distributed; and the cortège returned to the palace, cheered by an immense assemblage which seemed to embrace the entire population of the Capital.

Three days after this ceremony, Napoleon quitted Paris to join the camp at Boulogne, for the purpose, as was announced, of distributing decorations of the Legion among the soldiery, and preparing for his descent on the coast of England. During this journey the Emperor himself seemed to be the only person unconscious of the change which had taken place since he was merely a General of the Republic. "His regal style and title," says Mr. Hazlitt, "affected him no more than if he had merely put on a masquerade dress the evening before." The army, however, received him with a welcome of congratulation and applause to which no verbal description could do justice. Everything had been arranged for his reception. In the midst of a vast plain, forming a natural amphitheatre, with a slight eminence in the centre, was erected a platform, sustaining the iron chair, which was formerly the throne of King Dagobert, an ancient king of the Franks. In front and on each side were assembled, under the orders of Marshal Soult, eighty-thousand men from the camps of Bologne and Montreuil. The Imperial tent had

AUGURIES.

been pitched near a ruinous building called the Tower of Order. In clearing the ground, traces of a Roman encampment had been discovered, with a battle-axe of the same period; a circumstance which was hailed as an omen that Napoleon, like Cæsar, would become the conqueror of Britain; and the augury seemed to be confirmed by the finding, at the same time and at a short distance from the same spot, some coins of William the Norman. It has been suggested, with great probability, that the last of these discoveries was not accidental, but that the coins were a recent deposit. However this may be, the coincidence was sufficient to increase the ardour and confidence of the soldiers.

STORM.

never to have appeared more sensible of, or better pleased with, the attachment universally manifested for his person. Crosses of the Legion of Honour were given to a great number of those who had distinguished themselves, both officers and private soldiers. Most of the veterans, who had served under him in Italy and Egypt, were known to him by sight, and many by name. Several were called up to receive their decorations from his own hands, and kindly enquiries were made concerning their families and their welfare. It was by such means, by such apparent sympathy, that he won and retained the hearts of his gallant soldiers.

The ceremonies of the day had not concluded, when a storm suddenly burst over the harbour, and endangered the safety of the flotilla there collected. The Emperor hastened from the field to the port, to give such directions as might be necessary on the spot. But

no sooner did he appear than, as if by magic, the wind was lulled, the heavy clouds rolled away, and the sea became calm. "The very elements," said his flatterers, "acknowledge, and are awed by the

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imperial dignity of Napoleon!" Returning to the camp, the day was closed with military games and festivities; and in the evening fire-works were exhibited, one of which threw up so large and brilliant a column of light, as to be distinctly visible from the shores of England.

While he remained at Boulogne, he employed the greater portion of his time in reviewing the troops, superintending the public works, and encouraging the men in the performance of a number of evolutions, by night as well as by day, to accustom them to embark and disembark with celerity. In these manœuvres the most expert were certain to be rewarded with money or honours. Intrepidity, indeed, was sure to obtain his approbation, displayed by whomsoever and in whatever way it might be. His conduct towards two English sailors, at this period, was long a subject of admiration throughout the army. They had been prisoners at Verdun; but having escaped from the dépôt, and reached the neighbourhood of Boulogne, had concealed themselves in the woods, waiting for an opportunity to get on board some English vessel, which they occasionally saw approach the land. Finding that the watch upon the coast was too strict to afford any chance of their procuring a boat by stealth, they adopted the idea of making one; and accordingly set diligently to work with their knives, the only tools they had, cutting branches from the trees, and interlacing these with osiers. This frail bark was five or six feet long, and between three or four wide; and when the hull was completed, its owners contrived to obtain some sail-cloth, to cover the sides and bottom. The vessel altogether was so light, that a man could carry it with ease upon his back. Nothing but the love of home and of freedom, or the recklessness of despair, could have prompted any person to trust his life in such a basket: yet, one or all of these feelings were so strong with the bold seamen in question, that the risk of being drowned or shot seemed light in comparison with the hope of escape. Seizing an opportunity, when they had one day descried a cruiser in the Channel, they issued from their lurking-place, launched their boat, and fearlessly put to sea. They had not advanced far, however, when they were perceived, and a custom-house galley despatched to bring them back. The chace was a brief one; and the captured men, when brought to shore, were instantly immured

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in prison as spies. The incident quickly spread through the camp, and was reported to the Emperor, who, struck by the almost incredible daring of the adventurers, ordered them and their vessel to be brought into his presence. Napoleon could not conceal his astonishment, that rational men should have entertained such a design, and endeavoured to carry it into execution with such feeble means at their command. "Is it really the fact, that you intended to cross the sea in such a thing as this?" he asked. "Ay, Sir," replied one of the prisoners; "give us permission to do so, and you shall soon see us depart." The Emperor, whose feelings were enlisted in their favour, replied, "You shall have permission. You are bold and enterprising, and I admire courage wheresoever it is found. But you shall not

again expose your lives needlessly. You are free. I will give immediate orders to conduct you on board an English ship: and when you have returned to your native land, tell your countrymen how highly I esteem brave men, even when they are my enemies." The hardy seamen were overwhelmed with joyful surprise at this instance of unexpected generosity. They had just before been informed that they were to be shot: they now found themselves at perfect liberty, and objects of interest to the greatest warrior of the age; in addition to which, they were presented with several pieces of gold, to procure them new clothes and necessaries, until they could be safely sent away.

EDUCATION.

Amid the active occupations of the camp, Napoleon still found time to devote many thoughts to civil affairs. While at Boulogne he dictated a decree for the reorganization of the Polytechnic School, which he converted into a kind of military seminary. The rapid progress of the pupils in the military schools and colleges, and the discipline maintained therein, seem to have been more agreeable to his ideas of an educational system, than the sedentary mode of study which had been recommended by the monks. From the emulation excited by classing the pupils, the constant employment of mind and body, which a routine of active duties, performed, not by disconnected individuals, and at random, but by combined numbers, and with a view to precedence in those who excelled, he expected as much advantage in the improved intelligence of the rising generation, as he had derived from pursuing a similar course with the troops under his command. This system, which, if Napoleon was not its inventor, he was certainly the first to bring into extensive use, has since become the ground-work of almost all the general plans of instruction adopted throughout Europe, and of which the benefits are universally acknowledged. His enemies have seen nothing more in the establishment of his academies than a desire to enslave the minds of youth, by bringing them up in subservience to his government. Posterity will rank his labours, in this respect, among the most valuable services which a Sovereign has ever rendered to mankind.

It was in the camp also, and about the same time, that the Emperor founded the decennial prizes for the promotion of literature, science, and the arts, and for rewarding eminence in everything, whereby one man might by intellect, industry, invention, or perseverance, distinguish himself above his fellows. The first distribution of these prizes was fixed for the 18th Brumaire (9th of November), 1809; a date which seems to have been fixed in compliment to those who assisted him to put an end to the anarchy which had grown out of the Revolution.

From Boulogne Napoleon proceeded to Brussels, and took up his abode in the Palace of Lacken, a residence purchased by him from the Archduke Charles, after the treaty of Luneville, and which had been magnificently fitted up for his reception. Here he was joined by the Empress Josephine;—the “meek and peaceful” woman, whom

Madame de Staël, about this time, in a letter, informed Napoleon was utterly unfit for him, and to whom he could have been united through an error in human institutions only. "For the companion of a hero like you," said this eloquent and modest lady, who, it has been asserted by her admirers, was grievously persecuted by the Emperor; "to adore you, nature assuredly destined a soul of fire, like mine." She compared her idol to a god, descended upon the earth; and informed him that her pen and her principles were devoted to his interest. "Bah!" said the Emperor, as he read the fulsome epistle; "the woman is certainly mad. What means this vagrancy of the imagination? It is a disorder of the fancy. I cannot endure the woman for throwing herself thus at my head. *She* compare herself to Josephine!" And the obnoxious letter, after being crumpled in his hand with an unwonted expression of indignation, was thrown into the fire. The authoress of 'Corinne' was afterwards informed of the reception of her somewhat indecent overture; and her affection being then turned into hatred, she became involved in some political intrigues, and was politely informed by the sarcastic Fouché, that "the air of France was not good for her health"—a hint which induced her to retire to Copet, in Switzerland, whence she did not again venture to return to her beloved Paris, till after the fall of her divinity.

From Brussels the Emperor and Empress proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle; and thence along the Rhine, by Cologne, Coblenz, and Mayence. From the last place he sent one of his aides-de-camp, Caffarelli (a brother of him who had died during the Egyptian expedition), to Rome, to solicit the presence of the Pope at the Imperial Coronation. The Eagle of the Legion of Honour was, on this occasion, sent to Cardinal Caprara, with a letter, written by the Grand-Chancellor of the Order, informing him that he was the first foreigner who had been invested with the insignia. It was from Mayence, also, that Napoleon directed the sailing of two squadrons, designed to be the first movement towards the intended invasion of England; one from Toulon, under Admiral Villeneuve, and the other from Rochefort, under Messiasy. On this journey, the Imperial couple received the personal congratulations of almost all the Princes of Germany upon their accession to the throne; and the

RETURN TO PARIS.

Confederation of the Rhine was formed, to operate as a means of defence against any sudden invasion from the great Northern powers. The enthusiasm of Napoleon's own subjects was unbounded, and vented itself in the most hyperbolical addresses; an expression from one of which may serve as an example of all: "God," said the Prefect of Arras, "made one Napoleon, and rested!"

About the middle of October, after three months' absence, the Emperor returned to St. Cloud, having, in the meantime, heard from Caffarelli, that Pius VII. would undertake the journey to Paris to confirm to him the sceptre of Charlemagne, and consecrate him in his new office. The Emperor Francis, at the same period, addressed a letter to Napoleon, acknowledging his Imperial dignity, and relinquishing for himself the title of Emperor of Germany, which he had previously borne — reserving only the more modest designation derived from his hereditary states of Austria, a style from which his successor has not deviated.

CHAPTER XVII.

ARRIVAL OF THE POPE AT PARIS—VOTES OF THE PEOPLE FOR HEREDITARY SUCCESSION — CORONATION OF THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS — DISTRIBUTION OF EAGLES TO THE ARMY. 1804.

EST the attendance at the Coronation, for want of due notice, should not be commensurate with the splendid preparations in progress, summonses were issued immediately after the Emperor's return to the capital, for the Legislative bodies to meet on the 1st of De-

cember. In the mere ceremony of his installation, there is no reason to suppose that Napoleon sought to gratify his own vanity; but to satisfy the religious scruples of a large class who still regarded the sanction of the church, and the observance of ancient forms, as essential to their change of allegiance from the Most Christian King to a new monarch. It was this which induced him to sue to the Pope himself, the supreme and infallible head of the Catholic world,

POPE PIUS VII.

whose influence was necessarily superior to that of any individual among the clergy, to officiate at the solemn festival. Outward pomp was never regarded by Bonaparte as more than a means of influencing the opinions of others. "The costume of the imperial theatre," he said, "does not constitute my value, though it is necessary for the multitude. I claim esteem for myself." That he was right, is testified by the exaggeration of ridicule with which his enemies sought to counteract the spell he had invoked. The English Ministry, it is said, exhibited more sensibility on this than on almost any other of the acts, by which their great adversary had sought to establish his power on a sound and permanent basis.

Pius VII. quitted Rome in the beginning of November, and travelled leisurely towards Paris; being everywhere received with the utmost distinction, agreeably to the instructions which had been issued by the Emperor, and to the feelings of respect which the majority of the people entertained for his high character and sacred functions. To do him honour, "the Alpine precipices," Sir Walter Scott informs us, "had been secured by parapets, wherever they could expose the venerable Father to danger or apprehension." Napoleon himself, accompanied by the Empress, went to Fontainebleau, the ancient palace of which name had been recently repaired, and furnished with befitting splendour, to meet his Holiness; and hearing of the near approach of the Father, they advanced to Nemours. Here, on the 25th, in order to avoid the formalities of a ceremonial, which had been arranged for the meeting, the Emperor engaged in a hunting party, and contrived, as if by accident, to be upon the road when the Pope came up. At the Imperial salutation, the Papal cortège halted; and while Napoleon alighted from his horse, Pius descended from his carriage. After embracing each other, they both got into the same vehicle; but, as though they had mutually agreed to maintain an appearance of perfect equality, each at the same moment mounted the steps at the two doors, Napoleon on the right and the Pope on the left. Of this interview, Mr. Hazlitt has said that it was "a joining of hands between the youth and the old age of the world; in which if Pius represented the decay of ancient superstition, Napoleon represented the high and palmy state of modern opinion; yet not insulting over, but propping the fall of the first.

PRESENTATION OF VOTES.

rituals. Pius seemed greatly flattered by his reception, and the good will with which he was everywhere greeted; and those who were presented to him were in turn delighted with his affability and gentleness. A characteristic anecdote of his visit to the imperial printing office has been preserved. A volume, dedicated to his Holiness, had been prepared therein, containing translations of the *Pater Noster* in a hundred and fifty different languages. A copy of this work was struck off in the presence of the good Father. A young man, imbued with the irreverent notions then still too common in France, kept his hat on during the Pontiff's stay. Some persons, indignant at such a gross mark of disrespect, attempted to pull it off; which, creating considerable disturbance, attracted the Pope's attention. Having ascertained the cause of the confusion, the venerable man approached, and mildly desired the youth to uncover his head, that he might receive a paternal blessing. "The benediction of age," said the Pontiff, "never yet did harm to any one." It need not be added, that this conduct produced a great and beneficial effect, not only upon those who witnessed it, but upon the numbers among whom the story was rapidly circulated.

On the 1st of December, the Senate attended the Emperor with the result of the votes upon the question of the hereditary succession to the throne. For the mere change of style it had not been thought necessary to consult the public, as that in no degree altered the Constitution of the State. Francis de Neufchâteau, the president of the chamber, presented the decree whereby the Crown was declared hereditary—first, in the male line of the Emperor's direct descendants, and failing of those in such of the sons or grandsons of his brothers as he might adopt, in the order to be pointed out by himself. Joseph and Louis, in case no such adoption should take place, were finally declared the lawful heirs of the Empire. The votes by which this decree had been confirmed amounted to upwards of three millions and a half; while those who had recorded their dissent to the measure numbered but two thousand five hundred. Neufchâteau concluded a highly eulogistic harangue, by asserting that this decision was "the unbiassed act of the people, than which no government could plead a more authentic or higher title." In his reply to this address, Napoleon assumed a prophetic tone, which events have not realized.

PROCESSION.

As explaining his ideas of a Sovereign's duties and responsibilities, however, the speech is worthy of being recorded. "I ascend the throne," he said, "to which the unanimous voice of the Senate, the people, and the army has called me, with a heart feelingly alive to the mighty destinies of the nation, which from the midst of camps I first saluted by the name of GREAT. From youth upwards, my whole thoughts have been devoted to Frenchmen, and it is due to myself now to declare that my pleasures and pains are this day nothing, save as they reflect the happiness or misery of my people.

"My descendants shall long preserve this throne, the first in the universe. In camps, they will be the foremost soldiers of the army, willingly yielding their lives in defence of their country. As magistrates, they will never forget, that contempt of the laws, and the overthrow of social order, can only result from the weakness and irresolution of Princes."

On the following day, the Coronation took place in the church of Nôtre-Dame; when, notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, the assemblage was immense, and made such an imposing display as even the gay capital of France had, perhaps, never before witnessed. The Marshals and Generals of the Empire, with the great Functionaries of State, the Members of the Legislative bodies, Deputies from all the departments and the chief cities and towns, added to military deputations from the various regiments, and nearly the whole population of Paris, could not fail to present a sight not soon to be forgotten. The interior of the cathedral had been magnificently embellished, and fitted up with stalls and galleries, which were thronged with spectators, in full dress, and resplendent with gold and jewels. The Imperial throne was placed at the end of the nave on an elevated platform. The Papal chair stood in the choir beside the high altar. The Pope repaired first to the sacred edifice, and took his place before the Emperor arrived.

In getting into their carriage, which was without panels, and looked like a frame-work of carved gold, Napoleon and Josephine, at first seated themselves with their backs to the horses, a mistake which, though instantly rectified, passed not unobserved, and was regarded by many as ominous of future evil. The procession was in every respect one of the most brilliant which has found a place in history;

CORONATION.

whether we regard the persons who figured in it, or the gorgeous robes and equipages which were then first displayed since the proscription of the ancient court and nobility. The train, as it passed through the densely crowded streets, was greeted with deafening cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" The acclamations of the citizens pealed as from the ocean, with a continuous yet distinct articulation of the same sound: while from the windows the waving of scarfs and handkerchiefs from the handsomest women in France was incessant, and made the very houses seem alive with enthusiastic loyalty.

When Napoleon entered the Cathedral the Pope rose, and went forward, to the middle of the choir, to meet him. Mass was afterwards said by his Holiness, and the holy unction administered. Pius then

DISTRIBUTION OF EAGLES.

blessed the Emperor and Empress, and consecrated their diadems; after which he presented the Imperial crown to Napoleon, who first placed it upon his own head, then removed it to the head of Josephine, and again laid it upon the cushion on which it had been brought from the altar. *Te Deum* was chaunted, and the Emperor took the constitutional oath; the heralds then proclaimed that "the thrice glorious and august Napoleon had been crowned and installed Emperor of the French." It has been dwelt upon as an extraordinary circumstance, that the Emperor wore a thoughtful and gloomy brow during a great portion of this long ceremonial—it must have been a strangely constituted mind in which the forms and solemnities of the occasion would not have awakened reflection. It would assuredly have been much more extraordinary to have seen Napoleon, for the first time in his life, assume an air of gaiety or indifference, at a moment of such interest to the people and himself.

On the morrow, all the troops then stationed in and near Paris, together with the Deputations which had been sent to the capital from the absent regiments to witness the Coronation, were assembled in the Champ-de-Mars to receive the eagles of the Empire, in lieu of the colours of the Republic. At this ceremony, Napoleon wore his uniform of Colonel of the Guards; and as he rode through the ranks, amid the cheers of the soldiery, it was evident that he was still regarded by all with the same pride and affection which had formerly induced the men to dignify him as the *Little Corporal*, and to rescue him at all hazards from the morass of Arcola. After the review, Napoleon ascended an immense platform, erected in front of the military college at which, after quitting the school of Brienne, his own studies had been completed. Here he assumed the Imperial robes; and, at a given signal, the whole of the columns moved forward, and in serried files surrounded the throne. The Emperor then arose and pronounced the following address:—"Soldiers! behold your standards! These eagles will ever prove your rallying point. They will always be wherever your Emperor may judge their presence necessary for the defence of his throne and people. You swear to sacrifice your lives to defend them; and by your valour to uphold them constantly in the road to victory."

The acclamations which followed the loud and hearty cry, "We

THE POPE.

swear!" were universal. The people seemed to be electrified by the presence of the Emperor, and to be prepared to applaud his very looks.

The Pope remained at Paris during the whole of the fêtes which followed the Coronation. His Holiness, who had been so excessively complaisant, seems to have expected something in return for his good offices: and accordingly a request for the restoration of Avignon, an ancient domain of the Papal See, situated in France, and of Bologna and Ferrara, in Italy, was sent to Napoleon. "In this," says De Bourrienne, "there was a want of good policy, which could scarcely have been expected from the Romish Court, whose diplomacy is usually so well adapted to the occasions which call it forth. Had the Pope, before quitting his own capital, asked, not Avignon, which he certainly would not have obtained, but the Italian legations, he would in all probability have had them restored; but it was another

THE POPE.

thing, after the service had been rendered." The Emperor made Pius many magnificent presents; but at first returned no answer to his demand concerning territory: subsequently, however, on the subject being pressed, Talleyrand was directed to give a positive refusal. This was the beginning of a coldness between the Imperial and Papal Courts, which afterwards ripened into dislike and ended in violence.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE CHAMBERS — STATUE OF THE EMPEROR —
SECOND LETTER OF NAPOLEON TO GEORGE III.—REPLY OF THE BRITISH
SECRETARY OF STATE. 1804—1805.



VERY shortly after the Coronation, namely on the 27th of December, the Emperor attended in person the meeting of the Legislative bodies. His speech on that occasion created a strong sensation throughout Europe.

“Princes, magistrates, soldiers, citizens!” he said, “in our respective relations all have but one aim, the welfare of our country. If this throne, upon which Heaven and the will of the nation have seated me, be dear to my heart, it is because by this alone can be defended and preserved the most

LEGISLATIVE SESSION OPENED.

sacred interests of the French people. Without a strong, as well as paternal government, France would have to dread a return of the evils which she has suffered. The weakness of the supreme power is to every people the most fearful of all calamities. As soldier, or First Consul, I have cherished but one thought; as Emperor, I have no other—the prosperity of France. I have been so happy as to render the nation illustrious by victories; to consolidate her power by treaties; to rescue her from civil disorder, and prepare her for the revival of morality, social organization, and religion. If death does not surprise me in the midst of my labours, I hope to leave to posterity a remembrance which shall for ever serve as an example, or a reproach, to my successors. It would have afforded me pleasure on this solemn occasion, had peace reigned throughout the world; but the political principles of our enemies, their recent conduct towards Spain” (alluding to the capture and partial destruction, by English ships of war, of some Spanish galleons, laden with treasure, notwithstanding the friendly relations previously existing between the two powers, and the total absence of any declaration of war), “sufficiently expose the difficulty of this. I have no desire to augment the territory of France, but to maintain the integrity of her possessions. I cherish no ambition of exercising, in Europe, a greater influence; but I will not resign that which I possess. No state shall be incorporated with the Empire; but I will not relinquish our rights, nor the ties which connect us with those states which we have created.”

The report of the domestic and foreign relations of the Empire, which was then read by the Minister of the Interior, was highly satisfactory; depicting in lively colours the internal prosperity and peace which had succeeded to the troubles and insecurity of the revolutionary government. Improvements were everywhere in progress. The agriculture of the country was more productive than at any former period; the manufactures of a higher quality, and in greater request. Roads, bridges, exchanges, marts, and public buildings of every description, had been constructed or planned to facilitate the communications and diffuse the advantages of commerce through every practicable district. The Colonies were represented as prosperous, and the diplomatic relations of the Empire as promising

STATUE OF NAPOLEON.

peace and friendship. England, it was said, was the sole obstacle to the entire pacification of Europe.

The Legislative bodies carried their address of congratulation upon the state of the country to the Emperor, on the 2nd of January, 1805. Most of the members attended, and the president, Fontanes, made use in his speech of the ancient formula, of "your most faithful subjects;" which gave umbrage to many of his colleagues, who had still hoped that *equality*, always before asserted to be one of the bases of the the Republic, at least in appearance, would have continued to be recognised.

A few days after the opening of the Legislative session, a statue of Napoleon, executed by Chaudet, was inaugurated with much ceremony and many laudatory speeches in the Chamber of Deputies, in the presence of the Emperor and all the great officers of State. M. Vaublanc and De Fontanes seem, on this occasion, to have vied with each other which should bend lowliest in homage to the Great Man. The services which Napoleon had rendered to France were recapitulated, and dwelt upon with enthusiasm. Public credit, it was urged, had been restored under his auspices; the field of industry had been enlarged by the drainage of immense morasses; mendicity was

LETTER TO GEORGE III.

abolished; the administration of justice improved, and the expenses of legal proceedings diminished. Many great canals, and numerous roads and bridges, were mentioned as being completed, and others commenced; three hundred and seventy schools were already established; the rites of religion were restored, contending factions reconciled, the public imposts lessened, and the condition of every Frenchman ameliorated.

Allowing for the exaggeration of admirers, there is no doubt that the greater portion of these eulogies was merited by their object. An author, who has never been considered a flatterer of Napoleon, has said, in reference to his exertions on behalf of France, that he had "fully identified himself with the country which had now become his patrimony, and that he was desirous of investing it with as much external splendour and internal prosperity, as his gigantic schemes were able to compass: in his administration he showed, that he desired to have no advantage separate from that of France; that he conceived her interests to be connected with his own glory; and that he expended his wealth in ornamenting the Empire, and not upon objects more immediately personal to himself." And ashamed, though half desirous, to ascribe all that had been done to motives of self-interest and mere personal aggrandisement, the same writer answers a charge, suggested by himself, in the following words:—"It is enough that the selfishness, which embraces the interests of a whole kingdom, is of a kind so liberal, so extended, and so refined, as to be closely allied to patriotism."

On the 27th of January, the Emperor addressed a second autograph letter to the King of England, which ran thus:—"Sir, my Brother,—Called to the throne by Providence, by the suffrages of the Senate, the People, and the Army, my first desire is peace. France and England, abusing their prosperity, may contend for ages; but do their respective Governments fulfil their most sacred duties, in causing so much blood to be vainly shed, without a hope of advantage or prospect of cessation? I do not conceive, that it can be deemed dishonourable in me to make the first advances. I believe it has been sufficiently proved to the world, that I dread none of the chances of war; which indeed offer nothing that I can fear. Though Peace is the wish of my heart, yet War has never been adverse to my glory. I conjure your Majesty,

LETTER TO GEORGE III.

then, not to refuse the happiness of giving peace to the world. Delay not that grateful satisfaction, that it may be a legacy for your children ; for never have arisen more favourable circumstances, nor a more propitious moment, for calming every passion, and displaying the best feelings of humanity and reason. That moment once lost, what term shall be set to a struggle which all my efforts have been unable to terminate ? In the space of ten years, your Majesty has gained more

REPLY.

in wealth and territory—[alluding to the vast conquests of England in India]—than the extent of Europe comprehends. Your people have attained the height of prosperity. What then has your Majesty to hope from war?—To form a coalition among some of the Continental powers?—The Continent will remain tranquil. A coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France. To renew internal troubles?—Times are no longer as formerly. To destroy our finances?—Resources, founded on a prosperous agriculture, are never to be destroyed. To deprive France of her colonies?—Her colonies are to France but secondary objects; and does not your Majesty already possess more than your power can protect? The world is sufficiently extensive for our two nations; and reason might assist us to discover the means of conciliating all, were both parties animated by a spirit of reconciliation. At all events, I have discharged a sacred duty, and one dear to my heart. Your Majesty may rely on the sincerity of the sentiments now expressed, and on my desire to afford your Majesty every proof of that sincerity."

Upon this communication, Sir Walter Scott has observed, that, "if Napoleon had been serious in desiring peace, he ought to have made his proposal something more specific than a string of general propositions, which, affirmed on the one side and undisputed on the other, left the question between the belligerent powers as undecided as formerly. . . . If Bonaparte, while stating, as he might have been expected to do, that the jealousies entertained by England of his power were unjust, had agreed that, for the tranquillity of Europe, the weal of both nations, and the respect in which he held the character of the Monarch whom he addressed, Malta should remain with Britain in perpetuity, or for a stipulated period, it would have given a serious turn to his overture, which was at present as vague in its tendency, as it was unusual in the form." Upon this question of Malta appears to have depended the whole issue of the proceedings of the British Cabinet. Yet, instead of fairly stating the wishes of his Government in that respect, the English Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the answer addressed by him to Talleyrand, asserted, that "His Majesty of England, though earnestly desiring the restoration of peace to his people, could not reply to the overture made to him

REPLY.

without consulting the Continental powers, especially the Emperor of Russia ;" or, in other words, that a new storm was gathering in the North, and that the fate of France must depend on another struggle : not, however, for any principle, or pretension to principle, such as was set set up at the commencement of the Revolution ; but for the maintenance of an acquisition, the restoration of which had been guaranteed not only by the Treaty of Amiens, but by almost all the sovereign States of Europe — with Russia at their head.

CHAPTER XIX.

**NAPOLEON KING OF ITALY—DEPARTURE FROM PARIS—TURIN—ALESSANDRIA
—MARENGO—MILAN—GENOA ANNEXED TO FRANCE—CORONATION—ORDER
OF THE IRON CROWN — EUGENE BEAUHARNAIS VICEROY — RETURN TO
PARIS. 1805.**

OMBARDY had witnessed the change of Government in France, from a Democratic Commonwealth to an Empire, with the utmost satisfaction. The Italians had long sighed for the independence of their beautiful country from the oppressive yoke of Austria, and of the numerous petty despots among whom the land was divided. Their liberation had, from the first, been hailed with enthusiasm, though it still left them partially dependent on a foreign power. The fact that the Northern States had been consolidated under one government, and organized for self-defence and protection,

CROWN OF ITALY OFFERED.

gave spirit to the efforts of the people to redeem the Italian name from the obloquy attached to it by ages of supineness and mal-administration. Already there had sprung up a spirit of patriotism and citizenship, a national love of glory and reverence for freedom, which shewed that the living generation were as capable of appreciating public virtue and heroism as their mighty ancestors, who held the world in fee. It was necessary, however, in order to secure the perfect regeneration of Italy, that the government of the country should not merely be liberal but permanent; and for this, it was requisite that a good understanding should be established with surrounding nations. Republican forms and institutions were hated throughout Europe by the people as well as the rulers; partly for fear of their contagious influence, which, indeed, had been already extensively felt, and partly from dread, derived from the terrible example afforded by the first outbreak of revolutionary feeling in France, of the ultimate designs of democratic leaders. Hereditary and regal government had been substituted in France, for the *visionary equality* of the philosophers. Italy, whose greatness was altogether ancestral, (and the memory of great names and great deeds was all that, till recently, had been left of her inheritance,) rejoiced at the coronation of Napoleon, the president of her own government, as heartily as the Parisians themselves; for it imparted a hope that the proposal of a similar change of style and title, with respect to Italy, would be listened to by him, in whose hands was her destiny, with the same favour.

In the beginning of March, a Deputation from the Cisalpine Republic, with Melzi, the Vice-President, at its head, arrived in Paris to consult the Emperor on the propriety of the proposed alteration; and, in case of his acquiescence with their wishes, to tender him the crown. At a public audience given on the 17th of March, Napoleon was informed of the unanimous desire of the Senate and people of Italy, that the country should become a Kingdom, and that he would ascend the throne. At the same time it was stipulated that, with the single exception of Napoleon, the crowns of France and Italy should never be worn by the same person; and that the Emperor, during his life, but not while the Russians should occupy Corfu and the English Malta, might transfer the sovereignty to one of his descendants, natural or adopted. This stipulation, it was

CROWN ACCEPTED.

wisely and patriotically urged, was indispensable to the independence of Italy, and the freedom of her people. Napoleon listened with complacency to the petition of the Republic which he had founded, and felt pleasure and pride in the expression of its jealous scruples, which are not difficult to be understood when it is remembered that the sentiments then uttered were but echoes of the principles taught by himself. He agreed in all things with the Italian Senate. "The separation of the crowns of France and Italy," he said, "will be necessary hereafter, but highly dangerous at present, surrounded as we are by powerful enemies and inconstant friends. The people of Italy have always been dear to me. For the love I bear them, I consent to take the additional burden and responsibility which their confidence has led them to impose on me—at least until the interests of Italy herself permit me to place the crown on a younger head; when my successor, animated by my spirit, and intent on completing the work of regeneration already so auspiciously commenced, shall be one who will be ever ready to sacrifice his personal interests, and, if necessary, his life, in behalf of the nation over which he shall be called by Providence, the constitution of the country, and my approbation, to reign."

That Napoleon, before charging himself with these new duties, had well weighed the consequences to himself and his subjects, is evident from a conversation which he held, on the 23rd of March, with De Bourrienne, who, having been some time previously dismissed from his situation of private secretary for supposed malpractices, was now again taken into some degree of favour, and shortly afterwards honoured with a mission to the German States, constituting the circle of Lower Saxony. The ancient school-fellow of the Emperor was in doubt, when sent for to Malmaison, what kind of reception he might expect, fearful that the splendour of recent events would have wrought great changes in the character and habits of the man who had attained such a dizzying elevation. In this respect he was agreeably deceived. Napoleon met him with the old familiar smile, pressed his hand kindly, and enquired after his family and occupations with the affection inspired by former friendship. Never had the hero of Arcola appeared more frank, more simple, and unostentatious. It seemed that, in proportion as his greatness became

THE ITALIANS.

unquestionable, he felt at liberty to throw off the reserve and affectation of dignity which had marked his progress to power. "In eight days," he said, "I set out to assume the iron crown of Charlemagne. That, however, is but a stepping-stone to greater things, which I design for Italy, which must become a kingdom, comprising all the transalpine country, from Venice to the maritime Alps. The union of Italy with France can be but transient. For the present, it is necessary, in order to accustom the Italians to live under common laws. The people of Genoa, Piedmont, Milan, Venice, Tuscany, Rome, and Naples, cordially detest each other; and none of them could be induced to admit their inferiority. Rome, however, by her situation and historical associations, is the natural capital of Italy. To make it so in reality, the power of the Pope must be restricted to spiritual affairs. It would be impolitic to attempt the accomplishment of this just now; but, if circumstances are favourable, there may be less difficulty hereafter. As yet I have but crude ideas on the subject, which time and events will ripen. When you and I were two idle fellows, strolling through the streets of Paris, a prescient feeling told me that I should one day be master of France. My conduct hence received a direction. It is wise, therefore, to provide for what may come; and this is what I am doing. Since it would be impossible at once to unite Italy into a single power, yielding obedience to uniform laws, I shall commence by making her French. All the petty, worthless States into which she is divided, will thus acquire a habit of living under the dominion of the same laws; and when this habit is formed, and local feuds and enmities become extinct, there will again be an Italy worthy of her olden renown; and her restoration to independence will have been my work. Twenty years are requisite, however, to accomplish this; and who can calculate with certainty upon the future? I speak at this moment of things which have long been shut up in my mind—I am probably but uttering a pleasant day-dream."

The day after this conversation had been fixed for the baptism of a second son of Louis Bonaparte and Hortense, the daughter of Josephine. The birth of the infant had been attested with all the formalities required by the Imperial Constitution in cases of princes of the blood, eligible to be called to the throne; and having been

ALESSANDRIA.—MARENGO.

school; and in whose behalf, at a later period, he had risked incurring considerable odium by opposing the orders of the revolutionary Government, with respect to two young ladies, nieces of his patroness, who, by an insane decree of the Convention, had been devoted to the occupation of peasants. During the same journey, when passing through Lyons, Madame de Bressieux, formerly Mademoiselle du Colombier, his "first love," sought and obtained an audience of Napoleon. It was a time of pleasant recollections throughout.

At Turin, the Imperial pair were lodged in the beautiful palace of Stupinis, the St. Cloud of the Kings of Sardinia, where Napoleon received the official report from the camp of Boulogne, and dictated, to the minutest details, the arrangements which he desired to be made preparatory to the embarkation of the invading army. Here also he was residing when Pius VII. passed through Piedmont on his return to Rome. The Emperor took leave of the Holy Father, whom he treated with the utmost deference and respect, at Turin. The Pope had not been invited to attend the approaching Coronation, perhaps because his request for the restoration of Bologna, and other Papal territories, had been rejected; or more probably, some delicacy was felt on the subject of asking him to consecrate a sceptre, beneath the sway of which his own patrimony was designed at no very distant date to be reduced. After remaining for three weeks at Turin, Napoleon and Josephine went on to Alessandria, where the former inspected the immense works, for the construction of which he had given directions immediately after the battle of Marengo. "With Alessandria," he had then said, "I shall always be master of Italy. It must, therefore, become the best fortified place in the world, and have a garrison of forty thousand men, with provisions for six months. The French troops, in case of revolt, or should the Austrians send formidable armies into Italy, will, if necessary, find a refuge there; and, wherever I may be, sufficient time may be gained to enable me to fall upon Italy, overwhelm the Austrians, and raise the siege of Alessandria."

On the 8th of May, the Emperor, with his staff, visited the plain of Marengo, for the purpose of reviewing the greater portion of the French soldiers then in Italy, who had been ordered to assemble there. He wore, on the occasion, the hat and uniform which he had worn on

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the day of the great victory, and which had been brought from Paris expressly for that purpose. "The worms, which spare neither the costume nor the bodies of great men, had been busy with these well-saved trophies of conflict."

At Milan, the Emperor was received with the most enthusiastic welcome by the authorities of the Republic, the citizens, and the population of the surrounding districts. He had always been a favourite with the Italians, who indeed considered him their countryman, by birthright, by his knowledge of their language, literature, and history; by the benefits he had conferred upon them in wresting the land of their fathers from German domination, and in founding among them many new and useful institutions, as well as by the

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brilliant career which he had commenced upon their soil. And the general joy was, perhaps, enhanced by the prospect, that the country, after the many vicissitudes of hope, fear, and disappointment, to which it had long been subjected, was about to obtain restitution of its political and civil freedom, and mastery of its own fate. The Emperor here took possession of the splendid palace of Monza, where he received a deputation from the Senate of Genoa, headed by Durazzo, the last of its Doges, who brought a petition to the Emperor, that he would be pleased to reannex Genoa to France. This Republic had once before, for a brief period, been a French province; and it was urged, that the prosperity and happiness the people then enjoyed were the cause of the present request. The prayer was acceded to; and the "Superb" city of Andrea Doria became a department of France, its inglorious Doge exchanging his almost regal robes for those of a Senator of France.

The Coronation took place, on the 26th of May, in the cathedral of Milan, which, next to St. Peter's at Rome, is the most magnificent ecclesiastical edifice in Italy; and which, after remaining unfinished for two or three centuries, had been completed by Napoleon. The diadem used on the occasion was the celebrated iron crown of the

ancient Kings of Lombardy, which had rested, undisturbed for ages, in the church of Monza, and which, as is generally known, is a circlet of gold and gems covering an iron ring, formed of a nail said to have been used at the crucifixion, and to have been taken from the true cross, by its discoverer the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine. The Cardinal Archbishop of Caprara officiated; and Napoleon at this, as at his Imperial inauguration, took the crown from the hands of the priest, and placed it on his own head; at the same time repeating the haughty motto, which had been used by its former owners, "*Dio mi l'ha dato; guai a chi la tocca!*"—(God hath given it to me; woe to him that touches it!)—An expression which, translated into French, became the legend of the Order of the *Iron Crown*, which was instituted immediately afterwards, to commemorate the event, and which, in formation, design, and object, was similar to the more celebrated *Legion of Honour*.

A day or two after this ceremonial, and amid the fêtes which succeeded it, the new King went in state to the Senate, to announce the appointment of Prince Eugene Beauharnais to the Viceroyalty of Italy, the remodelling of the Army, and the reorganization of the University of Turin.

Before leaving Milan, Napoleon received a number of intercepted despatches of Sir Arthur Wellesley, containing a detailed account of the recent English acquisitions in India; upon which he commented with much severity, blended with considerable humour. The Cabinet of London were at that moment holding up to execration the illimitable ambition of the French Monarch for daring to annex Genoa to the Empire; forgetful that it was, at the same time, issuing orders to extend the British dominion over an extent of country, and a population scarcely less than those of all Europe, without even the plea of being invited Liberators, or Conquerors in a merely defensive war, of the territories appropriated. It might well be said that England had not the same measure of moderation for itself and its neighbours. The defence, which has been sometimes set up by authors and politicians, that the different circumstances of Asia and Europe justified different lines of policy, is merely the trite argument of power and expediency, which is used by aggressors of every kind, having no relevancy to justice, and little to truth; and if

RETURN TO PARIS.

admissible on the one hand, is surely not to be rejected on the other. The representations of England, however, on the subject of Napoleon's encroachments, were favourably listened to by Austria, Russia, and Sweden; and negotiations for a new coalition, the expenses of which were to be chiefly borne by the British people, were at once set on foot, for a combined movement to humble the *Corsican Adventurer*, ere the throne, to which he had been exalted on the shoulders of the people, should be established on too firm a basis to be shaken.

Napoleon, who was well-informed of the intrigues in progress against him, was in no haste to precipitate the crisis; but, while secretly watching the tendency of events, took no public notice that could indicate his possession of any extraordinary intelligence. It was at this time that the monument to Desaix, on the top of Mont St. Bernard, which has been previously alluded to, was ordered to be erected, under the superintendence of Denon. The Emperor then visited Genoa, whose streets of marble palaces, ascending from and surrounding its noble harbours, induced him to exclaim, that such a possession was well worth the risk of another war. He slept while here in the Doria palace, on the same bed where Charles V. had reposed several ages before. After a short stay in this city, Napoleon and the Empress returned, by way of Fontainebleau, to Paris, which they reached on the 11th of July.

CHAPTER XX.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR — AUSTRIAN INVASION OF BAVARIA — WAR WITH AUSTRIA — NAPOLEON JOINS THE ARMY — BRIDGE OF LECH — EXPULSION OF PRINCE FERDINAND FROM BAVARIA — ULM — CAPTURE OF VIENNA — AUSTERLITZ—TREATY OF PREBBURG. 1805.

EVIES of extraordinary forces were now being made, with great rapidity, throughout the Austrian, Russian, and Swedish dominions. The German Emperor was incensed at the assumption, by Napoleon, of the Crown of Italy, and by the humiliation to which he had constantly been subjected in his conflicts with France; and the Russian Autocrat, besides having been taunted with screening from justice the murderers of his father, was desirous of obtaining celebrity in Europe, and of giving occupation to some of the numerous hordes which were subject to him, for the purpose of preventing the growth of liberal opinions, and consequent discontent, among them.

NEW COALITION.

The King of Sweden was a weak-minded and headstrong man, who, having imbibed certain crude notions of chivalrous enterprise, was anxious to make a figure in the newspapers and journals. There can be no doubt that England, by her liberal offers of gold to equip the troops of her allies, and to furnish the munitions of war, had been the prime mover of the confederacy. The project, however, did not succeed to the extent desired. Prussia, whose co-operation was almost indispensable to ensure a favourable result, could not be induced to combine with the other powers in their meditated attack upon Napoleon. Since her unsuccessful campaign of 1792, she had remained cautiously neutral; occasionally obtaining advantages from each of the belligerent powers for secret favours, performed, promised, or expected. So earnestly was desired the union of the Prussian forces with those of the Allies, that the Emperor Alexander went to Berlin in person, to endeavour to engage the King in the interest of the coalition. This condescension was not without its effect. The two Sovereigns met in the vault which contained the ashes of the Great Frederick, and over his coffin bound themselves, by a solemn oath, to guarantee the freedom of Germany; a vow which it is probable was never intended for any other purpose than to produce theatrical effect. This at least is certain, that the only means which the King of Prussia resorted to in consequence, were such as his position would have required had he entered into no engagement whatever—namely, to assemble an army of observation to protect his own country from insult and aggression. Wirtemberg, Bavaria, and nearly all the lesser German Principalities, were favourably disposed towards France; and, therefore, declined all overtures made to them by the Allies.

The negotiations preparatory to recommencing a continental war, had been conducted with as much secrecy as possible. To avoid exciting suspicion, Baron Vincent, an Austrian General, had gone out of his way to visit Napoleon while in Italy, and had paid him sovereign honours by a salute of artillery. Count Cobentzel, the Austrian Ambassador, and the Russian Plenipotentiary, remained at Paris. The movements of troops towards the frontier were apparently disconnected, and at such intervals, and by such routes, as it was hoped would enable them to pass unnoticed. Napoleon, however, was not to be deceived. Like the war-horse described by the patriarch Job, he had the faculty

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of "smelling the battle afar off." While his enemies, therefore, believed him to be reposing in fatal security, he was busy tracing roads and marking positions upon the map of Germany, and arranging the details of a campaign which was to eclipse all his former heroic achievements.

In the beginning of the month of August the Emperor quitted Paris, to repair once more to the camp of Boulogne; not now with the hope of being able to effect his object of invading England, but to see the condition and discipline of the army with which he purposed to overrun Germany, and establish a dominion upon the Continent, which should enable him to inflict a more deadly blow on Great Britain than could be given by any stroke of the sword. "In Germany," he said, "I will pierce England to the heart, by shutting the whole Continent to her commerce. I have also ideas that go farther; but these are not matured. There is not sufficient similarity among the several nations of Europe. Society requires to be regenerated, which can only be done by the establishment of a superior power, the authority of which over other powers shall constrain them to live on terms of peace and amity. France is well situated to exercise the necessary sway for that purpose. I know the obstacles which stand between me and my aim, but they do not dismay me. The main struggle will be between England and France; the other States of Europe are merely our instruments; and will be sometimes for the one and sometimes for the other, as interest or circumstances may dictate." It was not yet revealed to the troops, that their position on the coast would henceforth be of no further use than to serve as an idle menace, and to restrain the operations of England, by confining her army within her own boundaries. A number of experiments at embarking and disembarking were repeated in the Emperor's presence, and elicited from him the warmest approbation. The soldiers were enthusiastic when the conquest of England was spoken of; and it was with feelings of impatience that they, from day to day, expected orders to launch the flotilla, on which they were to be wafted to victory on the gold-covered banks of the Thames.

The opening of the war was precipitated by the rash and impolitic conduct of Austria; the cabinet of which having received some sharp words from Talleyrand, in reply to the remonstrances of their Ambassador, concerning the annexation of Genoa to France, directed an

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army of eighty thousand men, under the command of the Archduke Ferdinand, who had General Mack for his coadjutor, to march to the frontiers of Bavaria, and require the Elector Maximilian to unite his forces with those intended to act in what was called the defence of Germany. This Prince, however, was not disposed to break terms with Napoleon, nor indeed to violate his neutrality in any way. In order to excuse himself to the Emperor Francis, he pleaded, that his son, then travelling in France, would be made responsible for his conduct should he join the coalition. "On my knees," he wrote, "I implore permission to remain neutral." This reasonable prayer was rejected with an insolence for which it is difficult to assign a motive. He was haughtily commanded instantly to join the confederacy; or his troops, in despite of himself, would be incorporated with those of Austria, lest being permitted to remain as a separate army they might be tempted to take part with France. Maximilian upon this threat abandoned his capital of Munich, and retired with his army into Franconia; whence he again sent to Vienna an entreaty to be allowed to continue at peace. The reply to this was the occupation by Austrian soldiers of the whole of his Electorate, where the invaders conducted themselves in all respects as in an enemy's country, levying contributions upon the towns and villages, and plundering and maltreating the inhabitants. The Bavarian Prince, after this, naturally regarded the Austrians as declared foes, and earnestly desired the advance of the French, as liberators.

Napoleon was at Boulogne when information of these proceedings reached him. He hastened to Paris to communicate to the Legislative bodies the approach of war, and to make the necessary arrangements for a contest; which, though he had been far from seeking, was probably not displeasing to him, as affording a fair pretext to withdraw his army from the shores of the British Channel, and to abandon an enterprise which he had long ascertained to be hopeless, for scenes which afforded a prospect of fresh victories and the acquisition of higher renown. A manifesto was forthwith published, which was evidently intended to influence the discussions of the Diet, then assembled at Ratisbon; and which, after setting forth the provocations, and exposing the bad faith of Austria, thus continued:—"In such grave circumstances, and after vainly endeavouring to awaken pacific senti-

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ments in the Court of Vienna, notwithstanding the reiterated assertions of that Court, of its entertaining no hostile intention against France, the Emperor of the French feels bound to declare that he will consider as a declaration of war, formally directed against himself, any further aggression on the Germanic body, and especially upon Bavaria; the Emperor being fully determined never to separate the interests of his Empire from those of the Princes, his Allies." And in order to convince those whom he addressed, that he was perfectly in earnest, he, at the same time, issued directions for the removal of the army, then at Boulogne, to the German frontier.

A graphic description of the breaking up of the camp of the Invading Army has been given by an eye-witness. At daybreak, the wind was fair for England, the blockading squadron had been blown down the Channel. The trumpets sounded—"On board!" and in six hours nearly two hundred thousand men, sailors, soldiers, artillery, stores, ammunition, and arms, were embarked. Everything seemed favourable for the adventure. All was hushed: every eye and ear intent for the signal to get underweigh. Presently the trumpets pealed again; but it was—"To land!" The army disembarked in the same admirable order; but with very different feelings. The soldiers looked vexed and disappointed, and even murmurs were heard as they retired up the beach. A brief proclamation was then read, announcing the imminence of war with Austria and Russia, and a consequent change of destination for the Grand Army. An unanimous shout of joy welcomed this intelligence, the reverberations of which were long continued when it was announced that the Emperor himself would lead them to their new field of glory. Every one was ardent in hope and ambition, when the prospect was opened to him of signalizing himself under the eye of a chief, whose efforts had been constantly crowned with victory, and who was the idol of his followers. The setting sun that evening gave them a farewell glance at the cliffs of England; and by the morrow's dawn the vanguard was on its way for Austerlitz. For the first time, accelerated means of conveyance were used to transport the army to its destination. Twenty thousand carriages were put in requisition, and, in an almost incredibly short space, the troops, which had so recently covered the shores of the ocean, were bivouacking upon the banks of the Rhine.

W A R.

On the 9th of September, Napoleon caused the Revolutionary Calendar to be formally abolished, and the months and days to resume their ancient names and divisions. For a long time the people had generally disregarded the law of the decades. A celebrated mathematician had shewn its absurdity at the time of its institution. "Learned calculations," he said, "are thrown away on the subject. The decades are opposed to the commonest wants of man. The dirty shirt and rough beard of the mechanic and labourer cannot fail to defeat all legislative efforts that may be made to interfere with them." The invention had been altogether foolish and inconvenient, and occasioned much trouble and confusion in political and commercial transactions at home as well as abroad.

On the 22nd, the Emperor went in state to the Senate, to announce his intended departure for the Army. The speech which he delivered on this occasion, produced, when published, a lively sensation throughout Germany. "Senators!" he said, "In the present circumstances of Europe, I feel the necessity of explaining to you my sentiments. I am about to quit my capital, to place myself at the head of the army, bear prompt assistance to my Allies, and defend the dearest interest of my people. The wishes of the eternal enemies of the Continent are accomplished. Hostilities have commenced in the midst of Germany. Austria and Russia have united with England, and our generation is involved anew in the calamities of war. A few days since, I still cherished the hope that peace would not be disturbed; but the Austrian army has passed the Inn; Munich is invaded; the Elector of Bavaria has been driven from his capital; and all my hopes have vanished.

"At this moment it is, that the baseness of the enemies of the Continent is unveiled. They still fear the influence of my profound love of peace; they fear, lest Austria, at the aspect of the gulf which they have sunk in her pathway, should recoil, and once more embrace sentiments of justice and moderation: they have, therefore, precipitated her into war. I lament the blood which this will cost to Europe; but the name of France will thereby obtain new lustre.

"Senators! When at your call, echoed by the voice of the whole French people, I placed on my head the Imperial crown, I received, from you, and from every citizen, a pledge, that it should be main-

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tained pure and unsullied ! My people, under all circumstances, have given me proof of their confidence and attachment. They will hasten to range themselves beneath the banners of the Emperor and his army, which, before many days have elapsed, will have passed the frontiers.

“Magistrates, Soldiers, Citizens ! You will all strive to preserve the country from the influence of England ; who, if she prevailed, would grant us none save an ignominious peace ; the principal conditions of which would be the conflagration of our navy, the destruction of our ports, and the annihilation of our industry. All the promises which I gave to the French people I have fulfilled ; and on their part the people have hitherto redeemed all their engagements. In these circumstances, so important for the national glory and mine, the people will continue to merit the name of Great, with which I first saluted them from amid the field of battle. Frenchmen ! Your Emperor will do his duty ; his soldiers will perform theirs ; you will discharge yours !”

The reply of the Senate to this address was a vote for levying eighty thousand men, and the reorganization of the National Guard. The Tribune was not less zealous in displaying its devotion and attachment. The municipality of Paris, and other public bodies, testified their approbation of the conduct of the Emperor, and their indignation against England, Austria, and Russia, by eulogistic addresses. The severity of the required Conscription seemed to be everywhere forgotten, in the hope of new victories, and the almost certain exaltation of the power and glory of France.

Having issued orders for Marmont to advance from Holland, Bernadotte from Hanover, and Massena to assume the offensive against the Archduke Charles, in the Tyrol, Napoleon, accompanied by the Empress, quitted Paris on the 24th of September, and fixed his head-quarters at Strasburg, where, on the 29th, he published the following proclamation :—“Soldiers ! The war of the triple coalition has commenced. The Austrian army, in violation of treaties, has passed the Inn, and attacked and chased our Ally from his capital. You have flown to the defence of the frontier. We have now to pass the Rhine ; and, by our presence, assure the independence of the Germanic body, carry succour to our Allies, and confound the pride

of unjust aggressors. We must not again be tempted to make peace without surety: our generosity must no longer mislead us from the path of sound policy. Soldiers! Your Emperor is in the midst of you. You are but the advanced guard of the Great Nation, which, if necessary, is ready, at my voice, to rise as one man, and overthrow this new league, which the hatred and gold of England have formed. But, Soldiers! we shall have to make forced marches; to endure fatigues and privations of all kinds: yet, whatever obstacles may be opposed to us, we will surmount them all, nor rest till we have planted our eagles on the territory of our enemies."

On the 1st of October, the Emperor crossed the Rhine at Kehl, and slept that night at Ettelingen, where he received the Elector of Baden, who soon afterwards joined the Grand Army with such troops as he was able to muster. On the approach of the French to the mountains of Wurtemberg, the Duke had drawn up his little army near Louisburg to offer a formal resistance to their advance, when a French aide-de-camp appeared to request permission to pass. This was an unexpected courtesy, and gratified the Prince exceedingly;

OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN.

insomuch that when Napoleon came up, he was received with cordial welcome and invited to the palace of Louisburg, where he was lodged and entertained for two nights. The Duchess of Wurtemberg (Princess Royal of England) seems to have been delighted with her guest; and when she wrote home to London, did not fail to express her astonishment at finding the French Emperor so polite and agreeable a person, and the very reverse of what she had been taught to expect. During the stay of Napoleon at Louisburg, hostilities commenced on the road from Stutgard to Ulm, between the corps of Marshal Ney and some light troops commanded by the Archduke Ferdinand.


The plan of the Emperor now began to be developed. Marshal Mack, and his pupil Prince Ferdinand, had fallen into the old Austrian error of supposing that but one course was capable of being pursued, and that what had been previously done, must necessarily, under similar circumstances, be repeated. The passes of the Black Forest had been the almost invariable route of previous French invaders. To secure the defiles of that forest had, therefore, been the first object of the Austrian generals; who, for that purpose, had taken possession of Ulm, Memmingen, and the line of the Iller and Danube, and fortified their positions with all the care and skill at their command. The eagle eye of Napoleon had detected the error in these movements the instant it was made; and he at once formed the daring resolution of turning the flank of the enemy, cutting him off from his own country and resources, and reducing him to the necessity of surrendering at discretion, or giving battle with scarcely a possibility of success.

The first operations of the French were calculated to confirm the delusion of the Germans. Bernadotte, evacuating Hanover, and traversing Hesse, seemed about to unite with the main army; while Murat, Ney, Soult, Davoust, Vandamme, and Marmont, though each had crossed the Rhine to the north of Mack's position, manœuvred so as to cause a belief that they intended to attack the Austrians directly in front. As soon as it was found that Mack and his colleagues had fallen into the snare, and the French army was sufficiently advanced to render certain the accomplishment of the Emperor's object, Bernadotte suddenly turned to the left, ascended the Maine,

LECH.—WERTINGEN.

and formed a junction with the Bavarian army at Wurtzburg—the Elector now openly declaring his adherence to the cause of Napoleon. At the same time, Soult directed his march upon Augsburg; Murat, accompanied by Lannes, upon Wertingen; Ney upon Guntzburg; and Davoust, by the valley of the Neckar, marched towards Nordlingen, where it was intended to concentrate the several divisions before giving battle to Mack and the Archduke, which was the necessary preliminary to an advance on Vienna.

On the 7th of October, an engagement took place at the bridge of Lech, which was gallantly but vainly defended by the enemy. Colonel Wattier at the head of two hundred dragoons of the corps of Murat chased the Austrians, whose number greatly exceeded that of



their opponents, from the river, and left a free passage for the French across the Danube. On the 8th, Marshal Soult, who had already signalized himself in this campaign, by the occupation of Donawert, at the moment when an Austrian battalion was about to destroy the bridge there, advanced against Augsburg: while Murat, at the head of three divisions of cavalry, in order to interrupt the Austrian communications with Ulm, pressed forward to Wertingen; and, being sustained by Lannes with the division of Oudinot, attacked and defeated with great slaughter an Austrian corps of twelve battalions of grenadiers, made four thousand prisoners, including many officers of distinction, and took from the Austrians their colours, and two

GUNTZBURG.—AUGSBURG.

pieces of cannon. Next day, the division of Ney attacked the bridges of Guntzburg, which were defended by the Archduke Ferdinand in person, who had advanced from Ulm to guard the passages of the Danube, and, if necessary, to secure his own retreat into Bohemia. Ferdinand fought bravely; but after a stand of two or three hours, abandoned the field and fled, leaving all his guns, and three thousand prisoners in the hands of the French. On the 10th, Murat, Lannes, and Soult entered Augsburg; whence the last named General was despatched to blockade Memmingen, a small town to the south of Ulm, and the only line of retreat which was left to the enemy, of whose position Napoleon had now got more than forty miles in the rear: having in his progress drawn around Mack a series of lines and meshes, like those which the spider spreads with such singular care and precision for its prey.

The Emperor at once fixed his head-quarters at Augsburg, the locality of which enabled him to watch every movement of the Austrians, and to have the operations of his whole army under his direction. The venerable Bishop of Treves, who entertained great esteem for Napoleon, welcomed him to this beautiful town with the utmost hospitality. His halt, however, was but the crouch of the tiger before his spring. Pressing onward, he caused the divisions

MUNICH.—MEMMINGEN.

of the army, as he overtook them, to pass in review before him. At the village of Zumnershausen, when the dragoons filed past, a soldier named Marente, who had saved the life of his captain at the passage of the Lech, and otherwise distinguished himself, was presented to the Emperor. The man had been a sub-officer, and was sent back into the ranks but a few days before the event which brought him into notice. Napoleon conferred upon him the Eagle of the Legion of Honour; and made some observations in commendation of his courage and good feeling. "I did no more than my duty," said Marente; "my captain had certainly broken me for some faults of discipline, but he was, nevertheless, always a brave soldier."

On the 12th, Bernadotte entered Munich, having been compelled, in order to get thither, to march through the Prussian territories of Anspach and Bareuth, and thus to violate the neutrality of Frederick William. Duroc was sent to Berlin to apologize for this infraction; but the King, having some compunctions regard to the oath he had made with the Emperor Alexander, chose to express himself in terms of irritation, and to threaten a visitation of his displeasure upon the French. The uniform successes of Napoleon, however, of which his Majesty from day to day obtained intelligence, restrained him from issuing a declaration of war, as there can be no doubt the least reverse would have induced him to do. In order, however, to hold the balance between the contending parties with something like equilibrium, the Prussian monarch, after the movement of Bernadotte, gave a passage to the Russian army through Polish Prussia, to enable them to join the ranks of the Austrians.

On the 14th of October, a German corps of six thousand men laid down their arms to Marshal Soult at Memmingen; and on the same day, Ney, supported by Lannes, obtained a victory at Elchingen, and took possession of that town, which was considered the key to Bohemia. The Archduke Ferdinand had not awaited the arrival of the French main body; but, at the head of a strong column, had escaped across the Danube as soon as the danger of delay became apparent, leaving Mack, his second in command, closely invested in Ulm. The Emperor had crossed the Rhine on the 1st: it was now the 14th of the month, and the campaign could scarcely be said to be

ULM.

opened; yet the French were masters of every point on which they had advanced, and had taken upwards of twenty thousand prisoners. Napoleon, however, expected henceforth to meet with more vigorous resistance; and from the heights before Ulm announced to his army

the near prospect of a general action. He pointed out to the soldiers that the position of the Austrians was similar to that of Melas at Marengo: that the enemy was cut off from his reserves and resources; and that speedy victory was almost certain to crown the efforts of the Grand Army.

In order, however, to ascertain as nearly as possible the situation and expectations of Mack, General Segur was sent, on the 15th, to Ulm to demand the surrender of that fortress. The report made by the envoy to Napoleon on his return is highly graphic: the following is an abridgment. The night was dark; a fearful hurricane raged; the rain fell in torrents; it was necessary to pass to the city by cross-roads to avoid gulfs in which man and horse might have foundered. The French advanced posts, main-guards, videttes, and sentinels, had all sought shelter from the storm. There were no stars in the heavens, nor watch-fires on the ground; even the parks of artillery were deserted. It was with the greatest difficulty that a trumpeter was at last found, half drowned with mud and water, and stiff with cold, under a waggon, and thence brought to accompany the messenger. Arrived within the fortifications of Ulm, the Austrian

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commander attended in person to learn the mission with which Segur had been entrusted. He was a tall, pale old man, with a vivacious countenance, overcast for the moment with an anxiety which he laboured ineffectually to conceal. Napoleon's demand was that he should capitulate unless relieved within five days. Mack, relying upon the arrival of succour from Vienna, and on the advance of the Russians, demanded eight. He was not aware, and seemed little disposed to believe, that the French were masters of the line of the Inn and of Munich. "Ulm," he said, "would cost ten thousand men to reduce it, if less strongly fortified, and with less abundant provisions. As it is, we can hold out long enough. We have three thousand horses within the walls, upon which we will feed rather than surrender." Segur, who had no authority to grant more than six days at the utmost, now retired, after informing the General that he had directions from the Emperor to transmit orders to Marshal Ney, in passing, on his return, to commence the attack at day-break.

The situation of Mack was more critical than from his vaunting was likely to be suspected. His provisions were short, and his soldiers and officers without energy. He himself entertained considerable dread of Ney, whom a slight intercourse, by means of flags, during the campaign had shewn to be uncourteous, impatient, and fierce. From that chief nothing was to be expected but rigour. The Austrian commander wished, therefore, to avoid the possibility of falling into his hands, on an assault. On the morning of the 16th, therefore, Prince Maurice of Lichtenstein was despatched to Napoleon's head-quarters at the abbey of Elchingen, to treat for as favourable terms as could be obtained. The Emperor, who was in a wretched bivouac, in which it was necessary to lay planks to keep his feet out of the water, had just received the capitulation, signed the day before, for the surrender of Memmingen, when Lichtenstein was brought into his presence. The Prince was authorized to consent to the evacuation of Ulm, on condition that the garrison should be permitted to return to Austria. The proposal drew a smile from the Emperor. "What reason can I have," he asked "to comply with your request? In a week you will be in my power without conditions. I am perfectly acquainted with your situation. You expect the advance of the Russians, who can scarcely have arrived yet in Bohemia. And then, if I allow you

ULM.

to depart, what guarantee have I that your troops will not be united with those of Russia and made to fight against me? Your generals have often deceived me thus; and I will not again be their ready dupe. At Marengo I suffered Melas to march with his forces from Alessandria; and two months afterwards Moreau had to fight the same men, notwithstanding the most solemn promises on the part of your Government to conclude peace. After such conduct as I have experienced from the Austrian Cabinet, I trust to no engagement. The war is not of my seeking—it has been a violation of faith throughout; and although your General, Mack, might pledge himself, he has not the power to keep his word, as concerns his army. Were the Archduke Ferdinand still with you, and were he to bind himself, I might confide in his word, because he would be responsible for the conditions, and would not be dishonoured. But I am aware that he has quitted Ulm, and passed the Danube; however, I know how to reach him.”

Lichtenstein persisted, that the terms he had offered were the only concessions upon which the army would capitulate. “Return to your General, then,” replied the Emperor, “and inform him that I cannot grant what he requires. Here is the capitulation of Memmingen. Carry it to Marshal Mack, and tell him I can grant no other terms of surrender. Your officers alone can be allowed to return to Austria: the soldiers must remain prisoners. He must be brief in his decision, for I have no time to lose; and the longer he delays the worse he will render his own situation and that of his army. To-morrow I shall have here the corps which took Memmingen, and their arrival may put a different complexion on the matter.”

The Prince was conducted back to Ulm; and the same evening Mack wrote to the Emperor deploring the necessities of his situation, and placing himself at Napoleon’s mercy. Next morning Berthier went to Ulm; and in the evening returned with the capitulation, by which the whole army surrendered. The next day, Mack paid a visit, at Elchingen, to Napoleon, who treated him with the greatest kindness and respect; and is said to have drawn from him many of the secrets of the coalition, as respected their designs and ulterior objects. It has been suspected that Mack sold the fortress to the Emperor; this, however, is unsupported by facts. Napoleon, before quitting

SURRENDER OF ULM.

Strasburg, had observed, "The plan of Mack's campaign is settled; the Caudine forks are at Ulm. If the enemy comes to meet me, I will destroy him before he has regained the Danube: if he waits for me, I will surprise him between Augsburg and Ulm." Mack evidently was surprised, and appears to have been under the same spell which had so often paralysed the Austrian generals, when opposed to the superior genius of Napoleon; and which rendered it as impossible for him to avert the threatened danger by anticipation, as to encounter it when it came. This want of resolution and forethought appears to have been the extent of Mack's culpability; and this was shared to its full extent, and even exceeded, by the Archduke Ferdinand, who has never received any portion of the censure due to the whole of the generals who suffered themselves to be so egregiously outwitted.

On the 20th, the French army being drawn up on the heights near Ulm, with bands playing and colours flying, the gates of the city were opened, and the Austrian army advanced in silence, and slowly filed off, corps by corps, to lay down its arms, at a spot which had been previously agreed upon. Twenty-seven thousand men that day became prisoners of France; which, added to those previously captured, and the killed and wounded, made the Austrian loss amount to nearly fifty thousand men, besides an immense quantity of cannon, baggage, and military stores, and about three thousand five hundred horses, on which a division of dragoons, which had come from Boulogne on foot, were mounted. Fifteen days before, the confidence of the Allied Powers is said to have been such, that, not content with humbling France, and resuming the territories she had added to her domain, they had proceeded to dispose of her as a conquered country—a portion of the appropriation being, the award of Lyons to the King of Sardinia, in compensation for the temporary occupation of Piedmont. The reverses experienced must, under these circumstances, have been peculiarly mortifying.

During the evacuation, which lasted nearly the whole day, Napoleon was posted on a little hill, in front of the centre of his army. Here he received the Austrian generals, to the number of eighteen, who came to pay their respects to him ere they departed home, on parole. Among them was Mack, Prince Lichtenstein, Klenau, and Ginlay, with one whose position might have been considered delicate

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—General Fresnel, a French Bourbonist, who had been content to bear arms against his country. Napoleon treated all with respect, and offered what consolation he could for their misfortunes. "Gentlemen," he said, "I regret that so many brave men should be

victims to the folly of a Cabinet which entertains absurd projects, and scruples not to impugn the dignity of the Austrian nation, by selling the services of its generals. Your names are known to me, and are honourably remembered wherever you have fought. Examine the conduct of those by whom you have been compromised. What could be more iniquitous than their coming to attack me without a previous declaration of war? It is criminal thus to bring upon the nations a foreign invasion; to betray Europe by introducing into her disputes hordes of Asiatics. In sound policy, the Aulic Council, instead of attacking me, should have sought my alliance to drive back the Russians to the North. The union formed with those barbarians will appear a monstrous thing in history. It is a compact of the dogs and shepherds with wolves, against the sheep—a thing which could never have been conceived by a statesman." Mack,

AUSTRIAN PRISONERS.

with more truth than prudence, replied to this address, that his Sovereign, the Emperor of Austria, had been forced into the war by Russia. "In that case," said Napoleon, "you no longer exist as an independent nation." It is worthy of remark, that the French Emperor was the first to entertain any apprehension concerning the encroachments of Russian power. The other Continental States seem to have dreaded the advance of civilization much more than any irruption of barbarism.

A circumstance, connected with the interview above mentioned, has been noticed as setting the character of Napoleon in its true light. A general, more remarkable for his petulance than his wit, repeated aloud an expression, said to have been uttered by one of the soldiers, in ridicule of the vanquished Austrians. The Emperor, who had caught the words, was highly displeased; and sent one of his aides-de-camp to tell the officer to retire, saying to those near him, "He must have little respect for himself who insults men in misfortune."

The garrison of Ulm, with the other prisoners taken during this campaign, were sent to France, where, by the directions of Napoleon, they were distributed among the agriculturists and manufacturers, that their labour might compensate for that of the conscripts required for the service of the country; an arrangement which is said to have given perfect satisfaction, both to the prisoners and their employers, and to have had an exceedingly good effect in softening the hardships of war. During the eight days that the French troops had passed in the neighbourhood of Ulm, it had rained almost incessantly. The soldiers marched up to their knees in mire; and the Emperor himself had not been once unbooted. As the Austrians filed off before Elchingen, the sun shone out, and the weather suddenly became clear. Mack returned to Vienna, to be committed to a dungeon, in a remote part of the Austrian dominions; and Napoleon went back to the Bishop's palace, at Augsburg, to sketch a new series of warlike adventures.

On the 21st of October, Napoleon published the following address to his army:—"Soldiers of the Grand Army! In fifteen days we have made a great campaign. What we proposed to ourselves we have accomplished. We have chased the Austrian troops from Bavaria. That army, which came forth with so much ostentation to

ADDRESS TO THE ARMY.

insult our own frontiers, is annihilated. But what imports this to England, so long as her aim is accomplished? While we are kept at a distance from Boulogne, her subsidies will not be diminished. Of a hundred thousand men that were brought against us sixty thousand are prisoners, who have been sent to replace our conscripts serving in the campaign. Two hundred pieces of cannon, with all the magazines and stores, ninety stand of colours, and the most celebrated generals of the enemy, have fallen into our hands. There have not escaped us more than fifteen thousand men.

“Soldiers! I announced to you my expectations of a great battle; but, through the unskilful manœuvres of the enemy, we have obtained the same advantages without encountering the same risks; and, what is scarcely conceivable in the history of nations, this great result has accrued, without enfeebling ourselves by the loss of more than fifteen hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

“Soldiers! This success is due to your confidence in your Emperor, your patience in supporting fatigues and privations of all kinds, and your rare intrepidity: but we must not rest here. You are impatient to commence a second campaign. That Russian army, which the gold of England has transported from the extremity of the universe, must experience from our hands the same fate. In this warfare, the honour

of the infantry is especially concerned. They, for the second time, are required to decide the question which they first determined on the plains of Holland and amid the mountains of Switzerland, whether the French infantry is the first or the second in Europe. There are no generals against whom I can acquire glory. All my care will be to obtain victory with the least possible effusion of blood. My soldiers are my children !”

It is scarcely possible to appreciate properly the excitement wrought among soldiers by such an address, from a leader like Napoleon. It was inspiration. Every man became a hero in his own opinion, and was thus prepared for achievements which he would formerly have shrunk at the recital of, or utterly discredited.

The Emperor, having gained intelligence of the advance of the Russians, who had already entered Lintz, where carts and waggons were being collected to send them forward to the Rhine, quitted Augsburg, and hastened to Munich, which he entered on the 24th. The Elector had not yet returned to his capital; but the Bavarians, in raptures with their Liberator, made the day of his arrival a public holiday, and at night illuminated the city. The French now pressed on into the heart of Germany, crossing the Iser by all the bridges along their line, and approached rapidly to the Inn. The Emperor himself took the road to Mühldorf, whence the Russians had just retreated, on hearing of the fall of Ulm. Beyond this place not a bridge had been left standing. The French, however, were well prepared for greater obstacles than this; and continued their march, with little delay, to Salzburg, Braunau, and Lintz, cautiously following the route of the retiring Russians. At Lintz, Napoleon was visited by the Elector of Bavaria and his son: and here Duroc rejoined him, after his mission to Berlin. It was in this town, also, that he received accounts of the operations of the other divisions of the army.

Two days after the capitulation of Ulm, Murat, with his division, which formed the left wing of the Grand Army, invested Trochtelfrugen, and forced it with a garrison of ten thousand men to capitulate. Massena, meanwhile, after some fighting in Italy, had crossed the Adige at Verona, obtained possession of St. Michel, and pursuing his victories, attacked and defeated the Archduke Charles

FLIGHT OF FRANCIS.

at Caldiero, where the latter had strongly posted himself with his army of upwards of eighty thousand men. The last assault took place on the 30th, and gave to the French five thousand additional prisoners, besides compelling the Archduke to a precipitate retreat through the mountain passes of Carinthia into Hungary, whence he hoped to be able to emerge in time to defend his brother's capital, which was threatened by the rapid advance of Napoleon in person. At the same time, the Archduke John was sorely pressed in the Tyrol by the intrepid gallantry of Ney, who, having led his army into that mountainous country, by paths previously deemed impracticable, had already obtained possession of the fortresses of Schwartz and Neustadt, and was investing Innsbruck. Under these circumstances, Prince John, abandoning the Tyrol, hastened, with all the forces he could save from his pursuers, after Prince Charles, into Hungary.

From the whole series of admirably conceived and well executed manœuvres of the French Emperor, by which the enemy had been expelled from the Vorarlberg, the Tyrol, and the North of Italy, and every division of the army left at liberty to act in concert upon any given point, the capture of Vienna, the moment it should be assailed, became certain. The combined Austrian and Russian armies were in full retreat before the advancing columns of Napoleon, and scarcely ventured to halt for rest or refreshment. Their march was directed towards Moravia, where the Grand Russian Army, with the Emperor Alexander, had now arrived; and where it seemed to be the purpose of the Allies to assemble for a general and decisive effort. An attempt was made to save the Austrian capital, by calling upon the inhabitants to rise *en masse*; but it was soon discovered that the fortifications were in such disrepair, and the organization of the people so defective, that resistance could have no effect but to provoke the plunder, if not the destruction, of the city. On the 7th of November, therefore, the Emperor Francis with his family quitted Vienna—that imperial city which for ages had not beheld the front of an armed foe—to place themselves under the protection of the Russians, whose head-quarters were now at Brunn in Moravia.

A last feeble hope lay in the chance that Napoleon might be induced to negotiate. Count Giulay, one of the generals who had been included in the capitulation of Ulm, was, therefore, sent with a

CAPTURE OF VIENNA.

flag of truce to Lintz, to propose an armistice, previously, it was urged, to negotiating for a general peace. The device, however, was too transparent. Time was wanted to allow the two Archdukes to form a junction with the Russians beneath the walls of Vienna. The troops of the Emperor Alexander were not even mentioned in the proposal, though, had there been any serious intention of treating on fair terms, they would certainly not have been omitted. Napoleon, after hearing the message of Giulay, merely observed that, though he had a sincere desire for peace, he could not, under existing circumstances, suspend his operations; and that if the Austrian Court was anxious to bring the war to a speedy termination, it must include its allies in the armistice. In the meantime, both parties might fight while the preliminaries of a treaty were being arranged.

The army continued to advance, gaining in its progress several minor victories at Marienzel, Mörhenbach, Lambach, Lovers, and Amstetten, till the division of Marshal Mortier reached the village of Dornstein, where it encountered a large body of Russians and Austrians, and received a severe check, losing several men and three eagles. This was the first reverse which the French had experienced during the campaign, and, although slight in itself, it annoyed Napoleon exceedingly; detaining him for more than two days at the village of Polten, where he happened to be when intelligence of the disaster reached him. Giulay, at this time, again endeavoured to open negotiations to save the Austrian capital; but Napoleon would now listen to no proposal unless Venice and the Tyrol were placed in his hands to guarantee the sincerity of the Allied Powers—terms which Francis, in his turn, indignantly rejected. On the 13th of November, the advanced guard of the Grand Army was in the suburbs of Vienna, and in possession of all the roads leading to the city. A bold stratagem of Murat and Lannes, two of the bravest generals in an army where all the leaders were distinguished for courage and enterprise, won the proud capital of the proudest royal house in Europe, without imposing upon their followers the necessity of striking a single blow. Riding forward in advance of the troops, the two Marshals observed a number of Austrians preparing to blow up the bridge of Tabor. They instantly saw the advantage that might be gained if this work of destruction could be delayed; and,

VIENNA.

giving directions to the officers who accompanied them for the approach of the soldiers at a concerted signal, they pushed straight onward to the middle of the bridge, and at once entered into cool and composed conversation with the officers who were directing the works. Rumours of an armistice had been for some days current; and it was known that Count Giulay was still at Napoleon's headquarters. Murat and Lannes spoke of this, and treated it as a matter of certainty that hostilities were about to be suspended. The attention of the Austrians was thus diverted from its proper object, while a column of grenadiers, having reached the Danube, rushed upon the bridge, being protected from the fire of the enemy by the presence of several Austrian officers between them and the batteries. The materials and implements for destroying the bridge were in a moment thrown into the water, the cannon intended to protect the passage seized, and the French soldiers placed in undisputed possession of the Austrian capital. The German officers were not a little chagrined on discovering that they were prisoners of war, and that their blunder had enabled the Imperial Eagle of France to be exalted in triumph above the Griffin Eagle of Austria, even on the turrets of the ancient palace of Charles V., the vanquisher of the great and gallant Francis.

This surprise was of the utmost importance in all its consequences. Not only did it secure to the French the occupation of Vienna, with its immense military stores, arms, and clothing, but it interposed an insurmountable barrier to the junction of the Archdukes Charles and John with the Russians. Napoleon at once established his head-quarters at the palace of Schönbrunn, whence he issued orders for concentrating all his forces, which henceforth directed their march upon Vienna from every quarter, in order that they might be prepared to act decisively against the combined armies of the Archdukes, or that of the Russians, whichever should be most within reach, or the defeat of which should offer the greatest advantage. The day after the Emperor entered Vienna, the authorities of that city, with M. de Bubna at their head, repaired to Schönbrunn to present the homage of the inhabitants to the victor, and to petition for clemency in his administration. Napoleon spoke kindly to the deputation, and directed the publication of an order of the day, in which he commanded the soldiers to observe the strictest discipline, and to pay the

ANECDOTE.

most implicit respect to the persons and property of the citizens. A few days previously, he had performed an act which deserves to be recorded; not as a mere instance of generosity, which, after the many anecdotes of active philanthropy already noticed, would be superfluous, but as marking more strongly the character of the man. Just before his entry into Vienna, Napoleon, riding along the road, dressed as usual in his favourite uniform of a Colonel of the Guard, met an open carriage in which was a lady weeping, and an aged ecclesiastic. The Emperor reined his horse, and enquired of the lady the cause of her tears. She replied:—"My country-house, about two leagues hence, has been pillaged by soldiers, who have murdered my gardener. I go to seek the Emperor, who knew my family, and will, I doubt not, protect us." Napoleon enquired her name. "De Bunny," was the reply; "I am the daughter of M. de Marbœuf, formerly governor of Corsica."—"I am delighted, Madam," exclaimed the Emperor, at the same time informing her who he was, "to have an opportunity to be serviceable to you. Be pleased to wait for me at head-quarters: I will see you there presently. All who are of the family of De Marbœuf have a right to my regard." A picquet was assigned from the chasseurs of his own Guard to escort the lady; and the Emperor, after expressing his regret for what had happened, and almost offering personal excuses for the injury, hastened forward to give directions for tracing and punishing the delinquents. On his return, Madame de Bunny was honoured with the most marked attentions; and, when she departed, her losses were indemnified with princely munificence.

The occupation of Vienna, Napoleon well knew would be of little consequence, unless it were followed up by the defeat of the Russians and of Prince Charles. Having, therefore, appointed General Clark Governor of the capital, and left Mortier and Marmont to protect it, with orders to keep the roads of Italy and Hungary, he advanced, in person, with the divisions of Murat and Lannes, towards Znaim, in Moravia. On the day of his departure, the 15th, the advanced guard of the French overtook the rear of the retreating Russian army, at Hollabrunn, where a severe action ensued, perhaps on the whole to the disadvantage of the French; though the enemy was unable to make a stand, and continued his flight. In this engagement, General

INNSBRUCK.

Oudinot was wounded, and the temporary command of his corps in consequence given to Duroc, who had been during the whole campaign exceedingly eager to distinguish himself. Next day, a similarly indecisive battle was fought between Soult and the Russians at Juntersdorf.

Marshal Ney, in the meantime, had acquitted himself "with his customary valour and intelligence." On the 16th of November, he entered Innsbruck, the Tyrolese capital, and, in the arsenal, found sixteen thousand stand of arms, and an immense quantity of ammunition. Among other prizes in this place were two flags, which, during the last war, had been taken from the 76th regiment, than whom none had exhibited higher courage during the present campaign, and to whom the loss of their colours had been a constant source of profound affliction. These flags were now found among the trophies which had been preserved at Innsbruck, and at the intercession of an officer, were formally restored by Ney to the regiment. The soldiers went, in a body, to the arsenal, and the veterans, as their long lamented colours were taken from the walls, shed tears of joy, whilst the young conscripts exhibited almost equal enthusiasm at having assisted in the recapture of ensigns which had been so much talked of, and so deeply regretted by their seniors. The Emperor, when informed of the circumstances of this scene, directed that its remembrance should be preserved by a painting worthy of the subject.

BRUNN.

They who have accused Napoleon of want of sympathy, appear to have forgotten that his biography is full of such incidents as this.

On the 17th, Napoleon fixed his head-quarters at Znaim, whence they were successively transferred to Portlitz and Brunn: the Russians, at each remove, sustaining a new though unimportant defeat. Brunn had been evacuated a few hours only before the arrival of

NEGOCIATIONS.

the French, and the magazines were full of stores, as if they had been kept by friends. Here Kellerman, with four regiments of light cavalry from the corps of Bernadotte, joined the Grand Army, having left the Marshal himself and General Wrede (the commander of the Bavarian cavalry) at Iglau, in Bohemia, exhausted with pursuing the Archduke Ferdinand.

On the 28th, Napoleon gave audience to M. de Stadion and Count Giulay, who came to him again to solicit peace. The conduct of Austria, however, had been insincere throughout; and though the French Emperor wished for peace, he was not inclined to dispense with the precaution adopted at the commencement of this war, that surety must accompany peace, and generosity be tempered by sound policy. Nevertheless, as he had expected that overtures for accommodation would speedily follow the many signal defeats of the enemy, he had sent for Talleyrand, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Vienna, to conduct any negotiations that might be required. To this consummate diplomatist the Austrian envoys were now referred: and, to prove that he was in earnest, or at least to be enabled to claim the credit of sincerity, Napoleon sent Savary, one of his aides-de-camp, to Olmutz, to deliver a letter and his salutations to the Emperor of Russia. Savary had probably been selected for this mission, because he was known to be a keen observer. It was before dawn that he left the French head-quarters. At day-break he was at Vischau, where the first post of Cossacks was established, whence he was sent on through the whole Russian army to General Kutuson at Olmutz. As the morning rose, he saw the assembling of the wild Tartar hordes, from their bivouacks by the road side. Alexander had not risen when Savary reached his quarters: the latter was, therefore, left with a staff-officer until the gates of the fortress should be opened. The Generals who crowded round, and entered into conversation with the French envoy, during the hours that Savary waited, were chiefly young and vain men, without knowledge or experience, who were likely to be betrayed into rashness by their arrogance and presumption. These persons spoke loudly of the overweening ambition of France, and of the means by which they were about to curb it.

The Czar himself appeared about ten o'clock. He was a man of

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noble figure, about six-and-twenty years of age. After hearing Savary's message, and taking the letter he had brought, he said, "I duly appreciate this proceeding of your master, against whom I have taken up arms with regret. He has long been the object of my admiration, and I shall not neglect the first opportunity that offers to make the same assurance to him in person." The Emperor retired to write an answer, and in half an hour returned, holding his note with the address downwards, while he entered into conversation with Savary. He expressed his opinion, that to shew her moderation and good faith, France ought to restore all that she had won during the last ten years, and be content with the honours she had acquired in her splendid campaigns. "Here is my answer," concluded the Autocrat; "the superscription does not express the title your master has of late assumed; but I attach no importance to such trifles." The address was, "To the Chief of the French Government." Savary, on his return, found Napoleon awaiting his arrival at the post-house of Posoritz, only three-quarters of a mile from the Russian outposts. The message and letter of Alexander were far from satisfactory; the Emperor, therefore, desired Savary to return with all speed to propose an interview for the morrow. The circumstances of the French army were becoming critical. The Archdukes Charles and John were approaching the Danube; Prince Ferdinand was levying a strong force in Bohemia; Massena, who should, by this time, have brought his troops to the neighbourhood of Vienna, was still on the other side of the Julian Alps; and the announcement of the accession of Prussia to the Coalition was daily expected. There was, therefore, no time to be lost. An armistice, including all the belligerent parties, or a decisive victory, was necessary to enable Napoleon to maintain his position with hopes of a successful result. The last alternative appeared the preferable one; and although the French Emperor chose to appear desirous of pacification, he sought with more eagerness to provoke an instant battle.

At nine in the morning of the 29th, the day on which Savary had been sent to the Russian camp, an engagement took place a short distance from Vischau, between the advanced posts established by Murat, and a swarm of Cossacks, when fifty dragoons of the 6th regiment fell into the hands of the Russians. The Emperor went in

FIELD OF AUSTERLITZ.

person to the village where this action had taken place; and on his return walked his horse over the plain between Austerlitz and Brunn, attentively examining all the sinuosities of the ground, and causing the distances from height to height to be measured. "Gentlemen," he exclaimed to the officers of the staff, "it will be well to study this field: we shall shortly have to contest it." He passed the whole day on horseback, inspecting the position of every corps of his army, and giving directions for such changes as he conceived necessary. On the left of General Suchet's division, a single hillock overlooked the whole front of the position. Hither Napoleon directed to be brought fourteen pieces of cannon; and as ammunition waggons could not be placed there, two hundred charges of powder and ball were piled behind each gun. The foot of the hillock was then cut away as an escarpment, and the post thus secured from assault.

At night, the advanced parties of the army, which were two or three leagues beyond the spot where Napoleon desired to give battle, fell back to the positions which the Emperor had chosen for them. These movements misled the Russians, who conceived that they indicated Napoleon's intention to retreat. Alexander was elated beyond measure at the prospect thus opened to him; and the presumption of his officers and soldiers broke out in loud boasting. The

RUSSIAN ENVOY.

reverses of previous campaigns, they said, were attributable to the cowardice of the Austrians. The Russian soldiery, countrymen of that Suwarrow who had beaten the French from their Lombard possessions, would soon bring the towering eagle of France from its pride of place. The Czar himself had previously been disposed to

FRENCH DISPOSITIONS.

by what he observed, demanded, in the name of his master, the cession of Belgium and Holland, and the transfer of the Iron Crown of Italy to a less obnoxious head, as the conditions on which peace would be granted to France. The Emperor listened, with a patience which seemed to be the effect of his precarious situation; but in dismissing the Prince, said, "If that is all your errand, you may return, and tell the Emperor Alexander that I had no conception of these expectations when I sought an interview. I would have shewn him my army, and referred to his equity for the conditions of peace. But if he will have it so, we must fight. I wash my hands of it." When Dolgorouki was gone, Napoleon, rejoining his staff, exclaimed, "Those people are mad! They insist on my giving up Italy, when they cannot take from me Vienna. What then are their plans, and what would they do with France, if I were beaten? Let it be as God pleases; but, by my faith, before eight-and-forty hours are past, I shall have given them a sound drubbing!"

Preparations were now made, with increased rapidity, for the battle. Bernadotte had arrived, with two divisions of infantry; Soult had three; Lannes two; Davoust one. There was, also, in the field a strong division of grenadiers, and one of the Imperial Guard. Of horse, besides the light cavalry, there were three divisions of dragoons, two of cuirassiers, two regiments of carbineers, and the horse-guards. On the morning of the 1st of December, the Emperor himself stationed all the troops. Davoust was placed on the extreme right, behind the convent of Raygern; being separated by a number of small lakes and narrow defiles from Soult, who was opposed to the Russian left wing. The centre was commanded by Bernadotte; supported by the light cavalry, dragoons, cuirassiers, and horse-guards, under Murat. The left was under Lannes, being supported by the fortified hill before alluded to, near the road to Olmutz, called Santon. Ten battalions of the Imperial Guard, with Oudinot's division, headed by Duroc, were kept as a reserve, under the eye of Napoleon himself, who intended that this force, with forty pieces of artillery, should act only in case of emergency, and then wherever its presence would be most likely to render victory certain. The Emperor was on horseback the whole day, viewing the artillery, inspecting the posts and appointments of the soldiers, attending to the distribution among them of ammunition

PRUSSIAN ENVOY.

and provisions, and partaking of the last with the most good-humoured cordiality.

Alexander, deceived by the report of Dolgoronki, who, on his return to the Russian camp, had expressed his conviction that the French were retreating, hastily adopted the resolution of extending his left wing, in order to turn the right of his opponents, and take them in flank and rear. This was a movement into which Napoleon, presuming on their ignorance of the art of war, had all along sought to tempt the Russians; and when, about noon, he saw them begin to descend from the heights, where they might have lain in safety, until the arrival of the Archdukes on the field, he could not refrain from expressing his joy. "Before sunset to-morrow," he exclaimed, "that

army will be mine!" In order, however, to confirm the enemy as to the supposed weakness of the French, Murat, having sent forward a small body of cavalry as if to oppose the advancing army, hastily withdrew it, and called in his outposts, on pretending to discover the force opposed to him.

In the course of the afternoon, Count Haugwitz arrived at the bivouac of the Emperor, intending to offer the mediation of the King of Prussia between the contending parties, and with directions to declare war against France if this were refused. The envoy, on being introduced, intimated that he was the bearer of an important message. Napoleon guessed the purport of his mission, and replied:

CAMP ILLUMINATION.

"Count, you may see that the outposts of the armies are already meeting. There will be a battle to-morrow; return to Vienna, and deliver your message when it is over." Haugwitz, according to Napoleon's expression, was no novice; and, seeing how matters stood, prudently availed himself of the opportunity to withdraw, and wait the events of the fight. In the evening of the same day, an irregular firing of small arms was heard to the right of Soult's position, which was kept up so long as to give Napoleon considerable uneasiness. He, at last, sent an aide-de-camp to make enquiries, and soon learned, that a skirmish had taken place between the advanced guard of Legrand and some Russians, who wished to obtain possession of the village of Sokolnitz, which covered the French flank. The moon, which had previously shone brightly, now became overcast, and the firing soon afterwards ceased. The officer, who had been sent to reconnoitre, on his return found the Emperor lying on some straw, so soundly asleep that it was necessary to shake him before he could be awakened. Having heard the report, Napoleon sent for Soult to accompany him in inspecting the line, in order to ascertain the precise nature of the Russian movement. He approached the posts of the enemy as nearly as possible, and was desirous of returning to his bivouac without being recognised; but the soldiers soon discovered him; when, remembering that the morrow was the anniversary of his Coronation, they lighted bunches of straw and hay, and the enthusiasm spreading, an extempore illumination took place along the whole line, while the air was rent with loud cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" Veterans and conscripts thronged around him with equal eagerness, loudly declaring that they would celebrate the following day in a manner more worthy of his glory. "But you must promise us," cried an old grenadier, "that you will keep your person from the fire of the enemy, and only combat with your eyes."—"I promise you," replied Napoleon, "I will remain with the reserve until you need us." A pledge which exhibits in the most forcible way the mutual confidence between the chief and his soldiers: "shewing," says Sir Walter Scott, "that the assurance of his personal safety was considered as great an encouragement to the troops as the usual protestations of sovereigns and leaders that they will be in the front and share the dangers of the day. Yet," adds the same author,

CONFIDENCE OF THE ARMY.

AUSTERLITZ.

for the battle were then issued, and the generals departed at full gallop to their several posts to commence the attack. The whole army moved forward at the same moment, with such cool and steady determination of purpose, and such precision of step and motion, that the word of command might be heard from the different officers along the lines. The march was continued, with an occasional halt to rectify distances and direction, to the very foot of the Russian positions. The Emperor then passed in front of the several regiments, and exclaimed, "Soldiers, we shall finish this campaign with a thunder-clap which will confound the pride of our enemies!" Every hat was in an instant upraised, and an universal shout of "Vive l'Empereur!" arose from the moving mass. At this signal for the onset, the cannonade commenced on the extreme right, whither a large division of Russians had been allured by the hope of turning the French flank; but where it found itself unexpectedly opposed by Davoust's division, of whose situation behind the convent of Raygern it was in total ignorance. The manœuvre had been altogether badly executed. The intervals between the detached regiments had been suffered to become irregular, and the space left by their advance, in the line of the main army, was not filled up. Napoleon saw the opportunity, and immediately ordered Soult with the right wing to rush forward, intersect the enemy's line, and sever his left wing from the centre. The Czar, perceiving the fatal consequences of this movement, ordered the Russian Guards to make a desperate attack on Soult's division, and to restore the communication which had been cut off. This encounter took place on an eminence, called the hill of Pratzen, where General St. Hilaire sustained, for nearly two hours, a tremendous fire of musketry, such as it seemed impossible to withstand. Each battalion of his corps was engaged in a fierce contest: at length, however, Vandamme came up, and attacking the nearly exhausted columns of the enemy with fresh vigour, threw them into confusion, and became master of their position and artillery. At this moment, the Emperor despatched one of Bernadotte's divisions, and a portion of the grenadiers of the Guard, to the assistance of Vandamme and St. Hilaire. The Russians were now wholly occupied in defending themselves. Several times they attempted to fall back, in order to reascend the Pratzen, but on every occasion they were

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assailed with such fury, as compelled them to stand at bay, without being able to advance or retreat. On a sudden, Soult directed a new movement to be made, by Vandamme's division, towards the right flank, for the purpose of turning and enclosing all the troops engaged with St. Hilaire. The troops intended to execute this movement received a severe check. The fourth regiment of the line was thrown into disorder, and lost one of its eagles, by a charge of Russian cavalry: an accident from which fatal consequences might have ensued; but the genius of Napoleon seemed to triumph most in a crisis. Bessières was ordered to lead on the Imperial Guard, while the Russians were disordered by their own impetuosity in attempting to snatch a victory. The latter resisted bravely, fighting with the energy of despair; but the steady valour and matchless discipline of the soldiers of Napoleon finally prevailed, and the Russians were broken and dispersed. The Grand Duke Constantine, who had led this wing of his brother's army, seeing the rout of his troops, saved himself by the fleetness of his horse. The artillery and standards of the entire division fell into the hands of the French.

Against Murat, who commanded the centre of the French army, meanwhile, close columns of the Allies were directed in continuous charges. The Czar caused his guard to deploy. Artillery, cavalry, and infantry were marched against a bridge, of which the French held possession, and which was a post of considerable importance. The movement was, at first, concealed from the observation of Napoleon by the inequality of the ground; but a heavy rolling fire of musketry in that direction soon revealed what was passing, and he immediately afterwards learned that the enemy was repulsing one of his brigades. Their cavalry had, in fact, already penetrated the squares, and was sabring the men; while at a little distance were hordes of horsemen in reserve. The Russians now advanced: four pieces of artillery were brought on the ground, at a gallop, and planted in position against the French. General Rapp, who had been despatched by the Emperor to the assistance of Murat, with the corps of Mamelukes which had accompanied Napoleon from Egypt, two squadrons of chasseurs, and one of grenadiers of the Guard, arrived on the spot at this critical moment. "Courage, my lads," cried Rapp, on seeing the situation of his comrades; "behold your brothers, your friends,

AUSTERLITZ.

butchered; let us avenge them, and the disgrace of our standards! Forward!" There needed no further incitement to men already burning for distinction. The soldiers dashed, at full speed, upon the foe, and, in an instant, drove them from and captured their guns. The advancing cavalry of the Russians, which halted for the attack, was overthrown by the leaders of this gallant charge, and fled in confusion. At length, the French became so mingled with the enemy, that they were compelled to fight man to man, and the infantry on either side dared not fire, lest they should kill their own countrymen. The intrepidity and experience of the French finally succeeded; and the Russian centre shared the fate of its left wing.

The right of the enemy had been actively engaged, by Lannes, during the whole of the battle; but now all the troops on their left being routed, Napoleon was enabled to gather round them his forces on every side; and his artillery, incessantly playing upon them from

AUSTERLITZ.

the heights, forced them, after a valiant stand, to give way and seek for safety. They were driven into a hollow, where some small frozen lakes offered the only means of escape from the closing cannonade. Many attempted to escape, but the numbers which rushed together upon the ice, and a storm of shot that followed them, broke the frail support, and nearly twenty thousand men perished, by drowning and the effects of the artillery. Napoleon himself compared the

horrible spectacle to that of Aboukir, when "the sea was covered with floating turbans." Two columns of Russians, each consisting of four thousand men, surrendered as prisoners of war. Had Bernadotte properly executed a manœuvre, which had been entrusted to him, the entire army of the enemy might have been captured. He had been ordered to attack the infantry of the Russian Guard; but having done so, and broken and chased the flying corps for a league, instead of pursuing his advantage, he fell back to his first position, where

DEFEAT OF THE ENEMY.

Napoleon, to his great surprise, found him remaining inactive at evening. By continuing to advance, he would have obtained possession of the road from Austerlitz to Hollitsch, and thus have intercepted the retreat of the Austrians and Russians. Bernadotte, however, had never borne any affection for Napoleon, who, from an inferior officer, had become his master; and the Marshal's want of good will began about this time to lead him into repeated blunders.

The Emperors of Austria and Russia witnessed the defeat of their armies, from a rising ground, where they had stationed themselves during the contest; and only when the result was no longer doubtful, took an active part in the operations of their troops. It was then, with the greatest difficulty, that they were able to rally the remains of their routed forces, in order to save them from utter destruction by precipitate retreat. The bravery of the Russians, and the loyal devotion of the Germans, were put to a severe test in securing the personal safety of their respective sovereigns, the only practicable route for whose flight was along a causeway, between two partially frozen lakes; and they were hotly pursued by the French, whose leaders, from time to time, reminded the soldiers of their promise during the preceding night, to celebrate, with due honour, the anniversary of the Coronation. Upwards of twenty thousand prisoners of war, with an equal amount of killed and wounded, one hundred pieces of cannon, forty Russian and several Austrian standards, and an immense quantity of baggage and stores, were left on the field. Of eighty thousand Russians, and twenty-five thousand Austrians, engaged in this battle, not half the number could be mustered next day. Of the French, the number of whom was little inferior to the enemy at the commencement of the engagement, there fell about fourteen hundred men, of whom eight hundred were killed, and the rest wounded. Such was the great conflict, which Napoleon called the Battle of Austerlitz; his soldiers, the Battle of the Three Emperors; and a few others, the Day of the Anniversary.

Napoleon, returning from the pursuit in the evening, passed over the ground on which his various troops had fought. It was already dark: he, therefore, enjoined silence on those around him, that he might hear the cries of the wounded; and when a sound of

THE WOUNDED.

pain caught his ear he went immediately to the spot, alighted, and ordered brandy to be given to the sufferer. In the performance of this duty, he was engaged till a late hour. His escort passed the whole night on the field of battle, taking the cloaks from the dead to cover those in whom life still remained. Fires were kindled on the ground near where the wounded lay, and the soldiers of the guard left on the spot were directed not to retire till every wounded soldier was lodged in a hospital. The men loaded him with blessings, "which," says Mr. Hazlitt, "found the way to his heart much better than all the flatteries of courtiers. He thus won the affection of his soldiers, who knew that when they suffered it was not his fault, and who, therefore, never spared themselves in his service." It was past midnight when Napoleon arrived at Brunn. He lost no time, however, in issuing orders for Davoust to collect his corps and pursue the Russians, who were in full retreat on the following day; and at

the same time, Berthier was directed to ascertain the actual losses in the engagement, to visit the hospitals, and, in the name of the Emperor, to present every wounded soldier with a napoleon, as the piece of twenty francs was then called, and to distribute among the officers gratuities varying from five hundred to three thousand francs, according to their rank.

This signal defeat entirely crushed the hopes of the Emperor of Austria, of being able to maintain a successful opposition to France; and he therefore, after consulting the Czar, resolved to trust himself

SUBMISSION OF AUSTRIA.

to the clemency of the Victor. Accordingly, Prince John of Lichtenstein was despatched, on the day after the battle, with a message to Napoleon, soliciting him to grant an interview to the Emperor Francis. The French head-quarters were established in a barn, where the Emperor sat upon a heap of straw, warming himself by a log fire, when the envoy was introduced. The demands for ceding

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the crown of Italy and the territories of Belgium and Holland were forgotten, and the tone of Austria was that of a submissive suppliant. The expectations of the Allies had been effectively humbled; and they now sought and hoped for nothing beyond the saving of their own dominions from the grasp of the Conqueror, and permission to withdraw from the dangers by which they were surrounded. Their crippled and dispirited forces had been driven towards the bridges of Hollitsch and Göding; and, knowing that Davoust was in pursuit, they feared lest their retreat in that direction should be cut off, and their own foul designs retorted on themselves: for they could not fail to reflect on their previous agreement to dethrone Napoleon and dismember France. Napoleon, however, was not entirely without apprehension. He had known before the battle of the approach of the Archdukes; and of the hostile intentions of Prussia. In order, therefore, to avoid all hazard, and if

IMPERIAL INTERVIEW.

possible to conclude a durable peace, he, with some personal compliments to the negociator and his master, granted the request of Francis, and appointed the following morning for his reception.

Punctual to the appointment, the Emperor of Austria, at nine in the morning of the 4th of December, repaired, with a small escort of guards, and accompanied by Princes John and Maurice of Lichtenstein, the Prince of Wurtemberg, Prince Schwartzenberg, Generals Kienmayer, Bubna, and Stutterheim, and two officers of hussars, to the place of meeting, which was near a windmill on the road to Hollitsch, in front of the advanced posts of Bernadotte, about three leagues from Austerlitz. A tent had been pitched and a fire lighted, previously to the arrival of Napoleon, who was on the ground before

IMPERIAL INTERVIEW.

the hour named for the interview. The French horse-guards were drawn up in order of battle about two hundred paces behind the Emperor's tent. Francis was shortly afterwards announced. He came in an open carriage, with a company of Hungarian cavalry, which halted, as the French had done, and at about the same distance from the rendezvous. The French Emperor went from his tent to meet the Austrian Sovereign, and exchanging salutations they embraced. "Behold!" said Napoleon, as he led Francis to his camp fire; "such are the palaces you have compelled me to occupy for these two months." The humbled Monarch, with a bitter smile, replied, "You have turned your residence to such good account, that you ought not to complain of the accommodation." The interview lasted two hours; and in the end an armistice was agreed on, to afford time to negotiate on the conditions of peace. The Austrian was so vanquished in spirit, as well as in the mere circumstances of battle, that he sought to gratify his conqueror by throwing the entire blame of the war upon England, as Marshal Mack had done at Ulm; although this constituted one of the charges upon which that unfortunate General had been condemned and punished. "The English," said Francis, "are a race of merchants, who, in order to secure to themselves the commerce of the world, would set the Continent on fire:" an expression of which the bad logic was probably overlooked at the time, on account of its intended bitterness. Better terms than he had a right to expect having been granted to Francis, he next interceded on behalf of the Czar, requesting that the troops of Alexander might be allowed to retreat unmolested to their own country.

"The Russian army," replied Napoleon, "is surrounded: not a man can escape me. If, however, your Majesty will promise that Alexander shall at once evacuate Germany and Austrian and Prussian Poland, I will stop the advance of my columns." The Austrian pledged his honour that the Czar would do all that was required.

The two Emperors parted, as they had met, with an embrace. Savary was then despatched to the Russian camp, to communicate to Alexander the arrangements that had been made, and to receive his adhesion to the conditions. The Autocrat was at Göding when Savary overtook him; and, although it was but five in the morning,

ALEXANDER AND SAVARY.

he was already up, and giving directions to destroy the bridge at that place, the moment his army should have passed. Alexander was but too well pleased to be permitted to return to St. Petersburg, with his troops, to raise the slightest objection to the proposals of his Ally. In the excess of his joy, at the generous treatment of his conqueror, he said to Savary, "Tell your master that he did miracles at Austerlitz: that bloody day has augmented my respect for him. He is the predestined of Heaven. It will take a hundred years ere my army can equal that of France. Though inferior to us on the whole, we found you superior on every point of action."—"That," replied the courteous Savary, "arises from experience in war; the fruit of sixteen years of glory. This is the fortieth battle which the Emperor has won." Alexander, energetically, replied: "Napoleon is a great soldier. I do not pretend to compare myself with him. This is the first time I have been under fire: but it is enough. I came hither merely to assist the Emperor of Austria, who having now no further occasion for my services, I wish to return to my own capital. With all that the King of the Romans has stipulated, on my behalf, I shall strictly comply."

On the faith of his word, he received an assurance that his army would not be interrupted in its retreat. Savary knew not at this

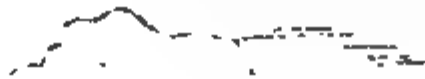
DUPLICITY OF ALEXANDER.

time that Alexander had been exercising his talent for duplicity upon the French commanders ; or, in all likelihood, some better assurance than his promise would have been required. Davoust had arrived, the day before, within a league of Göding, and was preparing to force his way to the bridge, through an Austrian detachment, posted in the neighbourhood to keep the roads, when he received a note from the Russian Emperor, informing him of the interview between Napoleon and Francis, and that an armistice had been concluded—leaving it to be inferred that the Russians were included in its provisions. The French General, in consequence, had suspended his movement, when he might have rendered himself master of Göding, and thus cut off the enemy's retreat. Davoust had no doubt of the veracity of Alexander ; though it subsequently became evident that the note was intended solely to deceive. Savary, on reaching the bivouac of Davoust, and learning the particulars, could not avoid expressing his suspicions to some Austrian officers who accompanied him, that the absence of the Czar from the interview of the preceding day was a designed evasion ; and that the object of the two hostile Emperors was not peace, but merely to extricate themselves from the dilemma in which they had been placed by their defeat.

On the morning of the 6th, the Russians passed the bridge of Göding, and proceeded by as rapid marches as their condition would permit, towards their own country. Their number was now reduced to less than half its original amount. They were without cannon and baggage-waggons ; many were severely wounded and without arms, and few had knapsacks ; it being a custom with their infantry, before the commencement of an engagement, to lay their knapsacks on the ground, that they might be unencumbered during the fight ; in consequence of which, if they were routed, their baggage was necessarily lost. The plight of the brave Moscovites was indeed pitiable, and the favour of Napoleon the greater, inasmuch as he could have had no difficulty in capturing the whole army, and dictating whatever terms he had thought proper. On the same day that the Russians departed, the armistice, which had been agreed on between France and Austria, was formally signed by Berthier and Prince John of Lichtenstein ; and the latter and Talleyrand were directed to repair to Presburg, to arrange the definitive conditions of a general pacification.

DECREES.

Napoleon immediately afterwards issued three decrees : by the first of which pensions were granted to the wounded French soldiers and the widows and children of those killed at Austerlitz ; the second ordained that the Russian and Austrian cannon, taken on the field of battle, should be broken up, for the purpose of erecting a triumphal column in the Place Vendôme, to perpetuate the glorious victory of the French army ; and by the third, all the children of the generals, officers, and soldiers who had fallen in the engagement, were thenceforth to be considered the adopted children of the Emperor, and to be provided for by the State.



CHAPTER XXI.

PRUSSIA AND SWEDEN—BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR—PEACE OF PRESBURG—
BAVARIA AND WURTEMBERG KINGDOMS—WAR WITH NAPLES—ADOPTION
AND MARRIAGE OF EUGENE BEAUHARNAIS—DETHRONEMENT OF THE
NEAPOLITAN BOURBONS—RETURN OF NAPOLEON TO FRANCE. 1805—1806.

LITTLE attention was attracted to the proceedings of Prussia, until after the victory of Austerlitz. Haugwitz, the envoy, who had waited on Napoleon on the evening preceding the battle, had gone as directed to Vienna, and commenced negotiations with Talleyrand; but in a spirit that shewed the insincerity and jealous spleen of the Cabinet by which he was commissioned. On the return of Napoleon to Schönbrunn, he sent for the Count to have a frank explanation of the objects of his Court. The event of the war had been so contrary to the hopes of the King of Prussia, that Haugwitz felt his situation to be exceedingly delicate. The message with which he had been entrusted was one of defiance, not of peace; but now, if he delivered it, he saw that his country must stand alone against triumphant France, in a struggle from which nothing was to be reasonably hoped. He felt, therefore, that the

PRUSSIA.

most reasonable course he could pursue would be to conciliate the Conqueror, by offering his master's congratulations on the recent victory. Napoleon smiled while he listened to compliments, which he knew to be designed for others. "This is a message," he said, "of which circumstances have altered the address." The Count protested that his Sovereign was perfectly sincere, and that he desired nothing but to assist in the re-establishment of peace, and the maintenance of his alliance with France. "What then," asked Napoleon, sternly, "is the meaning of a Russian army at Breslau, and another in Hanover, communicating across the Prussian territory with the Grand Army?" Haugwitz, seeing that Napoleon was not likely to be the dupe of the shallow pretences, which were all that he could offer in excuse, was silent. "Is the conduct of your master frank or consistent?" continued the Emperor, becoming warm. "It would have been far more honourable to have declared war at once, although he had no cause. He would then have served his new Allies, by compelling me to look twice before giving battle. You wish, however, to be the Allies of all the world, which is impossible; and you must, therefore, choose between me and my enemies. If you wish to throw yourselves into the arms of those gentlemen, I shall offer no opposition to your doing so; but if you remain with me, I must have sincerity. I prefer avowed enemies to false friends. If your powers are not sufficient to enable you to treat properly on all questions which may arise between France and Prussia, qualify yourself to do so with all speed. For my part I shall march against my enemies wherever they are to be found." Haugwitz, knowing that Napoleon seldom condescended to utter an empty threat, and that Prussia was entirely at his mercy, took upon himself, whether authorized by his Sovereign or not, to sign a treaty, by which Hanover was ceded to Frederick William in exchange for the margravates of Bareuth and Anspach:—a bribe which the envoy was pretty certain would prove irresistible to his master, notwithstanding that the latter had, in the meantime, concluded a treaty with England, the hereditary possessions of whose Sovereign he was now about to appropriate. The bearer of intelligence of the English alliance was met on his way to Vienna by Haugwitz, who was returning to Berlin to procure the ratification by the King of the Convention with Napoleon. This complication

SWEDEN.

occasioned much embarrassment to the Prussian Cabinet. War on one side or the other seemed inevitable; and the only question was whether it could be best sustained against England or France: the latter, having a large army in the field, flushed with recent triumph; and the former having granted, but not yet paid, a subsidy of fifteen millions sterling. Not knowing how to fulfil or disentangle himself from his conflicting engagements, the Prussian Monarch had recourse to one of those political shifts, which are so often put in requisition to avert impending dangers or protract the hour of their arrival. He consented to relinquish the Margravates, and to receive Hanover in pledge, till a general peace should be established.

The King of Sweden, meanwhile, having, early in October, heard of the Russian and Austrian movements in Moravia and Bavaria, collected his forces, and passing the Elbe at Luneburg, with an army of eight thousand Swedes, twelve thousand English, fifteen thousand Russians, and fifty-eight pieces of artillery, manœuvred so as to induce a belief that he intended to make a descent upon Holland—a movement which, had it been ably executed, might have prevented the march of Bernadotte to the Danube, and would have greatly embarrassed the operations of Napoleon himself. But Gustavus was deficient in the qualities necessary to constitute a great man, as king or general. Loving flattery and display, he contented himself with the compliments lavished upon him by the Allies, as the illustrious descendant of his namesake Gustavus Adolphus, and the successor of Charles XII.; and instead of proceeding at once to the scene of action, he waited in the neighbourhood of Hamburg, issuing Quixotic proclamations, in which he assumed the title of Liberator of Germany, and disputing on petty punctilioes with those whom he was expected, at once, to lead the field, till news arrived of the battle of Austerlitz, and compelled him to break up his camp in haste, and return with an army diminished, at least, a third by desertion, to his own dominions; where his subjects, disgusted by his tyranny and pusillanimity, received him with the utmost reluctance, and with a determination, formed if not expressed, to deprive him on the earliest opportunity of the crown and power which he disgraced. The French Emperor was satisfied with the ridicule which his vaunting opponent had thus incurred, and took no active

NAVAL AFFAIRS.

steps to punish him for his insolence. It was sufficient that he had rendered himself despicable in the eyes of the people whom he governed, as well as of the Courts of the surrounding States.

Gratifying as were these successes, however, they were not without alloy. A cup of bitterness had been prepared for the Conqueror of the Continent by the only foe whom he had utterly failed to humble. The empire of the land seemed to be more strongly confirmed to Napoleon by every effort made to diminish his power: but the sovereignty of the seas remained with the most determined of his enemies, in whose hands, conjointly with his own, he had himself admitted the fate of the world to be balanced.

Allusion has been already made to the seizure by England of four Spanish treasure-ships without a previous declaration of war, though certainly not without provocation;—the Spaniards, under pretence of neutrality, having supplied the French with money and stores for continuing the war. The action of Commodore Moore with the galleons occurred on the 5th of October, 1804, and was immediately followed by hostilities from the Court of Madrid; the King of Spain placing his entire fleet at the disposal of France. Napoleon had not then abandoned the hope of being able to make a descent upon the British coast, and the operations of his naval forces were still directed with a view to the projected invasion. Villeneuve and Gantheume, the French admirals, and Gravina, the Spanish commander, were ordered to execute certain manœuvres, which it was thought would distract the attention of England from her coast defence, and afford a better opportunity for aiming a decisive blow at her maritime superiority. The British blockading squadrons, however, maintained so strict a watch, that for some time it was found impossible to act upon the orders issued by the French Minister of Marine; and when at length the Toulon and Rochefort fleets were enabled to elude the vigilance of their opponents, and put to sea, it was merely to run in terror to the West Indies, and return to their several ports, without rendering any real service to their country, or inflicting the least injury upon the enemy. It was, nevertheless, considered to be a matter for rejoicing that the Imperial vessels had regained their harbours without loss; and this gave their commanders sufficient confidence to attempt a second sortie. Admiral Villeneuve accord-

CAPE FINISTERRE.

ingly, on the 18th of March, 1805, while the English fleet was driven off the coast by stress of weather, sailed from Toulon, bearing with him a large body of troops; and, making directly for Cadiz, formed a junction there with the fleet of Gravina. The combined squadrons then crossed the Atlantic; and, after rendering some trifling services in the West Indies, once more returned with speed to Europe, having been chased during the whole voyage by the great Nelson; whom, however, they were fortunate enough to elude: but they were unable again to reach their harbours. Sir Robert Calder, with fifteen sail of the line and two frigates, met them off Cape Finisterre, on the 22nd of July; and though his force was greatly inferior to that of the Allies, who numbered twenty sail of the line, three fifty-gun ships, and four frigates, he brought them to an instant engagement, and captured two of their best ships. Such, nevertheless, was the confidence of the British nation in the superiority of its navy, that notwithstanding the disparity of strength in this engagement, and the partial success with which it was crowned, the murmurs of the people were so loud, that it was thought requisite to bring Sir Robert Calder to trial before a court-martial, for having suffered the hostile fleets to escape without severer loss; and the gallant Admiral was actually censured for not having improved his success more signally.

The French and Spaniards were now compelled to put into Vigo to refit, and shortly afterwards, finding an opportunity to quit that port, they proceeded to Ferrol, and uniting themselves with the squadron lying there, sailed thence for Cadiz, which they once more entered in safety. The English Government having, at length, received accurate intelligence of the enemy's motions, placed Nelson at the head of the fleet in the Mediterranean, which was secretly reinforced with a number of the best ships in the British navy. Cadiz, meanwhile, was strictly blockaded, and the Allies soon began to be in want of provisions, which, had nothing occurred to hasten such a movement, must speedily have forced them to put to sea. But when Napoleon heard of the action of the 22nd of July, he was so greatly exasperated that Villeneuve had not availed himself of the advantage of his numbers to defeat the English, that he ordered Decrés, the Minister of Marine, to make a report on the Admiral's conduct, and to bring him before a council of enquiry. Indeed,

TRAFALGAR.

M. Rosilly was already on his way to supersede the Admiral, and take the command at Cadiz. Villeneuve, who was undoubtedly a man of high spirit and undaunted courage, burned with impatience to retrieve his reputation, and turn away the displeasure of the Emperor by a final, and, as he hoped, a victorious struggle. Accordingly, on the 19th of October, the combined fleets got under weigh, and sailed from port; and two days afterwards, being the day after the surrender of Ulm by Mack, the hostile fleets came in sight of each other off Cape Trafalgar.

The advantage of numbers was greatly in favour of the Allies, who had thirty-three sail of the line and seven large frigates, with four thousand soldiers, many of whom being excellent riflemen were placed in the tops. Nelson had only twenty-seven ships of the line and three frigates; and the disproportionate number of his men and guns made his inferiority still more considerable. The French Admiral, aware of the British custom of breaking the line, and engaging broadside to broadside, made the most skilful disposition of his vessels to prevent the success of this operation, should it be attempted. His fleet formed a double line, each alternate ship, at about a cable's length to the windward, covering the interval between the first and second of the foremost rank: an arrangement which seemed to preclude the possibility of executing the operation which it was intended to foil. The genius and daring of Nelson, however, were more than a match for the skill and forethought of his antagonist. He resolved, notwithstanding the precautions of Villeneuve, to put his favourite manœuvre in practice, but in a manner entirely original, and so as to defeat the calculations upon which it had been sought to frustrate him. His order for sailing and for battle was in two lines. An advanced squadron of six of his fastest sailing two-deckers was despatched to cut off as many as they could of the enemy's vessels a-head of their centre; Collingwood, the second officer in command, was ordered to break the line about the twelfth ship from the rear; and Nelson himself undertook to attack the centre. At the council of war, which was held preparatory to the battle, general explanations were given to the admirals and officers, that the engagement was to be close and decisive; and it was added, that if, in the confusion and smoke of the fight, the Admiral's signals

TRAFALGAR.

should not be discernible, no captain could do wrong by laying his ship alongside of the enemy.

On the morning of the 21st, Nelson hoisted his celebrated signal, "ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY;" and immediately afterwards Collingwood, who led the British van, bore down upon the enemy, with all his sails set; and disdaining to furl them, as soon as he had reached his station among the thickest of the foe, cut the sheets, and let his canvass fly in the wind. Nelson ran his vessel, the Victory, on board the French Redoubtable. These gallant examples were followed by the whole fleet, which breaking the hostile lines on every side, engaged two or three ships each, and maintained the fiercest naval battle ever contested, at the very mouths of the cannon. The French and Spaniards fought with determined gallantry; but, in the end, nineteen of their line-of-battle ships were captured, none of which were of less calibre than seventy-four guns. Four ships of the line, under Commodore Dumanoir, sailed away at the close of the engagement for the Straits; but being encountered, a few days afterwards, by Sir Richard Strachan, with a superior force, they also struck to the British flag: while seven of the thirteen vessels which escaped into the harbour of Cadiz, were total wrecks, and the rest rendered unserviceable. The fleets of France and Spain were

TRAFALGAR.

thus entirely annihilated ; and the threat of an English invasion turned into scoff and mockery. But great as was the victory achieved, it was considered to have been dearly purchased, by the life of England's greatest naval hero ; who fell, mortally wounded, early in the battle, and lived but just long enough to hear the exulting shouts which announced the defeat of the Allies. " Thank God," exclaimed the dying Admiral, " I have done my duty : " and with these words, which furnish the best commentary on his life and actions, yielded up his manly spirit. The Spanish admiral, Gravina, received several wounds in the action, of which he shortly afterwards died. Villeneuve was taken prisoner to England ; and being permitted, after a brief captivity, to return to France, on his parole, soon put a period to his own existence, feeling convinced that he had offended his Sovereign past hope.

The news of Trafalgar reached Napoleon at Schönbrunn ; and though he was at once conscious of the magnitude of the disaster, he allowed few indications of uneasiness to appear. His first exclamation was one of petulance and pride. " I cannot be everywhere ! " he said ; as if his presence at Trafalgar would have wrought the same effect upon the captains and seamen of his fleet, as upon the generals and soldiers of his army at Austerlitz ; or, as though the Hero of the Nile would have quailed at his name, like the oft defeated marshals of the German empire. Few of the French newspapers ventured to allude to the event ; and those that did so, spoke of " a tempest that had deprived France of a few vessels, after an action imprudently entered into." Napoleon certainly did not allow the circumstance to interfere with other projects, or to engross more than its due share of his attention. He had a peculiar faculty of abstraction, which enabled him, when anything was likely to interfere with the immediate object in hand, of suspending the consideration of that which was obnoxious, or of a nature to distract his mind, till a more fitting season ; and to this absolute mastery of himself, and power of concentrating his mental energies, may be ascribed not only his escape from much mortification, but his brilliant successes, on numberless occasions, when common men would have been overwhelmed with the multiplicity of accruing cares and vexations.

At the end of the year 1805, the predominant aim of Napoleon

PEACE OF PRESBURG.

was to make a final settlement of the continental war in which he had just been engaged: and to this he perseveringly devoted himself. He had stated before setting out on the campaign, that he wished for no accession of territory to France, and in the negotiations at Presburg no stipulation was made in behalf of that empire. The kingdom of Italy, however, was consolidated by the cession of the ancient domains of Venice; and Bavaria received the principality of Eichstett, part of the domain of Passau, the Tyrol, and the important city of Augsburg, being at the same time erected into a kingdom; as was also the electorate of Wurtemberg. The Elector of Baden received the title of Grand Duke. Salzburg and Berchtolsgaden, meanwhile, were transferred to Austria; and the principality of Wurtzburg was erected into a Grand Duchy, and conferred on the Archbishop of Salzburg. Austria is said, by this treaty, which was signed on the 26th of December, 1805, to have lost upwards of twenty thousand square miles of territory, two millions and a half of subjects, and a revenue of about ten millions and a half of florins. It should be remembered, however, that in this account were included the dominions, population, and revenues of Venice, to which Germany had never any sound or legitimate title. What probably affected Francis even more than the cession of territory, was a military levy of a hundred million francs, to which he was subjected as a contribution towards the expenses of the war; and the first instalment of which he was compelled to pay out of the subsidies sent, for a very different purpose, from England.

Before departing from Schönbrunn, Napoleon received a personal address from the civic authorities of Paris, congratulating him on his victory, and on the peace which, it was hoped, would be the result of that glorious event. As a mark of his confidence and approbation, the Emperor charged the deputation to bear to the capital the flags taken at Austerlitz, part of which he intended to place in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame; and the guardianship of which, in the meantime, he conferred by letter upon the Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris; whom he desired, moreover, to institute a solemn office in the metropolitan church to be chaunted in honour, and for the repose, of the brave men who had fallen in their country's service during the campaign. At Schönbrunn, also, Napoleon reviewed his troops. The first

PROCLAMATION.

battalion of the 4th regiment of the line had lost its eagle at Austerlitz. As the men filed past him, the Emperor observed the deficiency, and commanded a halt. "Soldiers," he exclaimed in a severe tone, "what have you done with the eagle which I gave you, which you swore should be your rallying point, and that you would defend it with your lives? Have you forgotten your oaths?" The major, stepping forward, replied: "Sire, the standard-bearer having been killed in a charge, nobody, amidst the smoke, was conscious of the fact at the moment. The corps, nevertheless, did its duty, by beating two battalions of Russians, and taking their colours, which have been laid at the Emperor's feet." Napoleon smiled as he replied, "In that case, I must return you your eagle."

On the 27th of December, the Emperor, in a proclamation addressed to the army, announced the establishment of peace; reminding them, at the same time, that he had shared with them all the perils, privations, and fatigues of the war; and that if, at its close, they beheld him surrounded with all the splendour and pomp of majesty, it was but as the Sovereign of the first people in the universe. "In the beginning of May," he said, "I shall give a fête in Paris, when, after all our hardships, you will be ranged around my palace—the preservers of our national interest and glory, and the witnesses of our country's happiness. The idea that this felicity is in store for you

PROCLAMATION.

imparts joy to my heart, and inspires me with the most tender emotions. We will consecrate, worthily, the memory of those who have died on the field of honour ; till, inspired by the example of our fallen comrades, the world shall wonder at our deeds against those who would dare to assail our honour, or be basely seduced by the gold of the eternal enemies of the Continent." This, M. Laurent de L'Ardèche calls magic language: all-powerful upon the hearts of soldiers. It was this kind of appeal to the feelings and sentiments, this tone of sympathy and companionship, which had such electric effect in the field, and produced such marvels of heroism: this was what his enemies have characterized as a species of charlatanism, assumed to maintain an ignoble popularity. It may be added, that, in their day, all who have forsaken the accustomed road to fame, whether heroes, philosophers, scientific discoverers, or legislators, have been aspersed as charlatans, the list of whom, indeed, has been swollen with the names of Galileo, Bacon, and Newton. Since the prophetic ages, it has been the destiny of great men to be misunderstood and denounced in their generation.

On the same day (the 27th), another proclamation announced Napoleon's departure from the Austrian capital. "Inhabitants of Vienna!" ran this document; "Before quitting you, I wish to convince you how highly I esteem your fidelity to your Prince, and the good conduct you have uniformly exhibited. Receive, therefore, as a present, what the laws of war have rendered my property—your arsenal, uninjured. Let this always serve as a pledge for the maintenance of order. Attribute the misfortunes which you have suffered during the campaign, to the evils inseparable from war; and the respect which has been paid by my army to your country, may be ascribed to the esteem which you have merited at the hands of the French soldiers."

News now arrived of a declaration of war against France on the part of the Court of Naples. At the commencement of the campaign of Austerlitz, the two countries had been on the most friendly terms; and so late as the preceding September, a treaty of neutrality had been signed by Ferdinand, in order that General St. Cyr, whose troops, agreeably to a former stipulation, were quartered in the Neapolitan territories, might be at liberty to withdraw, and follow Massena

WAR WITH NAPLES.

through Upper Italy to the assistance of the Grand Army before the gates of Vienna. The object of the King of the Two Sicilies was no sooner accomplished by the removal of the French soldiers, than that Monarch collected all his forces, opened his harbours to the enemies of France, received into his states twelve thousand Russian and eight thousand English soldiers, and marched upon the Venetian States, with the insolence of certain triumph. His joy, however, was soon banished by the news of the victory of Austerlitz. The Russians and English did not even stand by him to see the result; but, on learning the disasters of the Allies, marched at once to the coast and re-embarked. The King and Queen of Naples fled to Sicily, so frequently their place of refuge from the storms which their perfidy had provoked: but Napoleon was not now, as on previous occasions, to be appeased by mere offers of submission. A last proclamation was published at Schönbrunn, which, after setting forth the many provocations to which France had submitted from Naples; the generous treatment which the latter had constantly experienced; and the repeated treachery of Ferdinand and his Cabinet, announced that "the dynasty of Naples had ceased to reign; its existence being incompatible with the peace of Europe and the honour of the French empire." Rapp was despatched to General St. Cyr, with orders for him to lead his troops back to Naples; and Joseph Bonaparte, who had been first honoured with a military command at the camp of Boulogne, was directed to enforce the sentence of expulsion, recently pronounced upon the Royal Family. The war was a brief one. The Queen of the Two Sicilies was the only distinguished person among her husband's subjects who retained a spark of manly spirit; and when her conduct made the cause of her country appear desperate, few were inclined to make a venture for national independence or personal right. Fortress after fortress fell into the hands of the French, without a blow being struck to save them: the cowardly Neapolitan officers, with the Prince Royal at their head, setting the example of flight whenever a French cockade was discernible. "One single trait of gallantry," says Sir Walter Scott, "illuminated the scene of universal pusillanimity." The Prince of Hesse-Philipsthal, to whom the defence of the strong fortress of Gaeta had been entrusted, refused to surrender it on the capitulation of the Crown Prince. "Tell your

General," said he, in reply to the French summons, "that Gaeta is not Ulm, nor the Prince of Hesse General Mack!" The place, however, after a brave resistance, was compelled to surrender; and the Prince who had defended it shortly afterwards died. The whole of his mainland territories were thus wrested from the imbecile King of Naples, whose subjects regarded the change of masters as a release from oppressive thralldom, rather than a question of foreign invasion and conquest. This branch of the Bourbons, indeed, had long been as unpopular as that of France at the time of the Revolution; and the feeling of discontent against them was daily strengthened by reports of the prosperity, which had already resulted from a different system of government in the neighbouring kingdom of Italy.

During these proceedings, Napoleon repaired to Munich, in order to be present at the nuptials of the Princess Augusta, of Bavaria, with Prince Eugene Beauharnais, Viceroy of Italy, whom the Emperor had recently adopted as his son, and declared to be his presumptive successor in the kingdom of Italy. The Empress Josephine met her consort in the capital of Bavaria, and assisted at the celebration of her son's marriage, which took place on the 13th of January, 1806. Eugene is said to have had no idea of this match when Napoleon sent for him from Milan, and was not well pleased when he learned the purport of his journey; but, after seeing his bride, the repugnance which he felt to a merely political alliance was dispelled by the beauty, grace, and accomplishments of the Princess. Magnificent

MARRIAGE OF EUGENE BEAUHARNAIS.

fêtes were given on the occasion, which lasted for a week, and which received additional éclat from the presence of the Emperor and Empress; to honour whom all the wit and loveliness of Bavaria seemed to have been assembled.

In the meantime, the people of Paris were preparing for the reception of their victorious Sovereign. The whole French nation was in raptures. Napoleon, from the earliest dawn of his career, had wrought miracles as a general, and people were prepared for great achievements; but the campaign of Austerlitz, by which, in a few months, and with scarcely an apparent effort, so much had been effected, seemed like the realization of a fairy tale. The *veni, vidi, vici*, of Cæsar, after reading a few of the bulletins, and tracing upon the map the progress of Napoleon, loses its power over our minds; for we feel that, when those words were written, the conqueror of ancient Gaul could have had comparatively little to communicate, but what the words themselves were capable of expressing. We can scarcely wonder then, that we find men exalting one who had thus surpassed their conceptions of human possibility to the dignity of a demigod.

In the race of public adulation wherein all classes in France competed to welcome the Emperor, the Tribunate led the way. In the sitting of the 30th of December, 1805, a resolution was adopted to render to Napoleon a testimony of the unbounded admiration, love,

FLAGS OF AUSTERLITZ.

and gratitude of the people, "which should be as immortal as his glory." On the 1st of January, 1806, the flags sent home by the Emperor, fifty-four of which had been given to the Senate, were taken to the Luxembourg, by the Tribune in a body, attended by the civil authorities, the soldiers of the garrison, military bands, and an immense concourse of the populace. The Senate, with the Grand Elector as President, was assembled to receive them; and the Arch-Chancellor and all the Ministers were present. Upon sight of the standards of the enemy, it was unanimously decreed: — "That a triumphal monument should be erected in honour of NAPOLEON THE GREAT. That the Senate and Tribune, on his arrival in Paris, should wait on the Emperor to assure him of the gratitude and affection of the French people; and that his letter to the Senate,

PUBLIC REJOICINGS.

dated at Elchingen, on the 17th of October, 1805, should be engraven on marble tablets, to be placed in the saloon of the senatorial chamber." The cathedral of Nôtre Dame, according to the promise of the Emperor, made to the municipal deputation of Paris, at Schönbrunn, received its portion of the trophies of the campaign, on the 19th of January; when the metropolitan clergy were all in attendance at the church to receive them. Fêtes and rejoicings were universal throughout the empire, and sustained for several days together. France, indeed, would have been tired of the numerous holidays which the victories of its Chief afforded; but that it was universally known that his wars hitherto had been wars of defence and independence, and that consequently what contributed to his glory was an additional assurance of safety to the nation.

CHAPTER XXII.

PUBLIC REJOICINGS—THE LEGISLATIVE SESSION—NEW NOBILITY—JOSEPH BONAPARTE, KING OF NAPLES—LOUIS, KING OF HOLLAND—CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE—TREATY WITH THE PORTE—DEATH OF PITT—NEGOCIATIONS WITH ENGLAND—DEATH OF FOX—DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE EMPEROR. 1806.

APOLEON and JOSEPHINE returned to Paris, on the 26th of January, 1806, and were received in the capital, as they had been in all the towns through which they passed in their journey, with the utmost enthusiasm. The houses were everywhere illuminated, and splendid fêtes were given by all who had the means of thus testifying their joy at the salvation of the country. The Senate and Tribunate waited on the Emperor, at the Tuileries, on the 28th, and invested him, in the name of the whole people, with the title of *Great*; which it was said had been merited by achievements,

PUBLIC MONUMENTS.

for the preservation of the empire, surpassing those of the heroes of ancient and modern times. At the same period, Denon, who had the chief superintendence of the Imperial works of art, submitted to Napoleon a series of designs for medals and trophies to commemorate the magnificent actions of the campaign, commencing with the departure of the army from the camp of Boulogne, and ending with the triumphal return of the victor to Paris. The Emperor examined these with some interest; but, however he might have sought to conceal inimical facts from others, he had no relish for personal adulation. Perceiving that one of the designs represented an eagle in the act of destroying a leopard, he hastily asked its meaning. "It is, Sire," replied Denon, "a French eagle, strangling in its talons a leopard, the ancient heraldic emblem of England." Napoleon threw the design violently to the further end of the apartment; and, rising in anger, exclaimed, "Vile flatterer! With what assurance do you tell me that the eagle of France subjects the leopard of England, when I cannot even send a fishing-boat to sea, but it is instantly seized by the English? It is the leopard that strangles the eagle. Let me see no more of such absurdities." Then passing on to the design intended to depict the battle, he said, "Put on one side the words *Battle of Austerlitz*, with the date; and, on the other, the eagles of France, Austria, and Russia—posterity will be at no loss for the rest."

This anecdote seems sufficient to remove from Napoleon the imputation of being the author or director of the pompous inscriptions, extravagant compliments, and perplexed designs which disfigured many of the public monuments of France erected during the Empire. His taste, indeed, appears to have been remarkably simple, and his judgment severe; assimilating to those of the ancients, upon the model of whose characters, as drawn by the classical historians, he avowedly endeavoured to form his own. One other instance of delicacy of sentiment is worth recording. Kellerman was deputed by a large body of influential citizens to obtain the sanction of the Emperor to the erection of a mark of personal honour to himself. Napoleon modestly declined the proposal, and intimated that in his opinion no man could merit such a testimony of approbation till his career was closed. And though afterwards the Emperor's statue was placed upon the bronze column in the Place Vendôme, on

FINANCIAL EMBARRASMENTS.

which the campaign of Austerlitz was elaborately sculptured, it appears to have been in deference to the opinions of importunate courtiers, rather than with his voluntary assent; as in the original design, which was prepared under his eye, the pillar was surmounted by an image of Peace. Even as it was, the ornamental had to surrender something to the useful. Before the cannon of Austerlitz were broken up, the Minister of Finance solicited the Emperor to grant him a score of the guns. "What!" exclaimed Napoleon, laughing, "does our Minister wish to make war on us?"—"No," replied Gaudin, "but on some rickety machines which kill the workmen in your mint. Twenty of these cannon will suffice to reconstruct the beams of the engines; and that it may not be forgotten whence they were derived, I will have *Austerlitz* engraven on them." Of the guns granted upon this appeal were formed the machinery still used for stamping the coin of the kingdom of France.

Though, externally, everything seemed to wear a smiling aspect, Napoleon was not without reason for uneasiness on his return to Paris. Through the failure of some extensive transactions between the heads of the French Victualling Office and the Spanish minion, Godoy, the Prince of Peace, to which upwards of eighty millions of francs had been appropriated, and the success of which had been frustrated by the vigilance of the English navy, considerable embarrassment had arisen in the financial operations of the empire, and a run upon the National Bank had followed. Before Napoleon quitted Munich, the government bills had declined to twenty-two below par; and on his arrival in Paris he found that the funds had fallen twelve per cent. He was not long, however, in discovering the occasion of the panic; and, by his personal influence with commercial houses, native and foreign, soon succeeded in restoring public confidence, and in enabling the bank to resume its suspended payments.

It has been observed, that after the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon exhibited great anxiety to have his authority recognised by the crowned heads of Europe. The Emperor of Austria, the Kings of Prussia and Denmark, and those of more recent creation, together with the independent Princes of Germany and Italy, had already acknowledged his title, and treated with him as a legitimate sovereign. England withheld its acknowledgment, because in admitting his

THE PANTHEON.—ST. DENIS.

right to the throne he occupied, she would have abandoned one of her strongest arguments for continuing the war, which was constantly asserted to be for the restoration of the Bourbons to their lawful inheritance. The Emperor of Russia, who had a keen eye to the subsidies of England, followed the example of that country in addressing Napoleon as "the Chief of the French Government;" and had artfully contrived to evade all further recognition, by his hasty withdrawal from the scene of his military exploits. There is no doubt that Napoleon repented of his lenity towards his conquered enemies the moment he heard of their duplicity. It became certain, indeed, from that instant that no permanent peace was to be hoped for; but that the Treaty of Presburg, like all former conventions, would endure only till a convenient opportunity should arise for the renewal of hostilities. The consideration of these circumstances is sufficient to remove any surprise we might otherwise feel at the sensibility of the Emperor on the subject of his rank. He knew that until he should obtain admission to the charmed circle of monarchy, and become one of the *élite*, he would, notwithstanding his investiture by the nation over which he ruled, experience neither faith nor justice from neighbouring states but such as his sword enabled him to command.

In order to remove, as far as possible, all obstacles to the general recognition of his title, and to surround the institutions of the empire with the same formalities and rites as distinguished the old monarchies of Europe, and thus impart to it an air of permanence, he now began to introduce some of those minuter reforms, which, while they seemed to affect no general principle, were calculated to make a deeper impression upon the people, and more especially upon strangers, than things of greater moment. The Pantheon, which had been first desecrated by the heathen ritual established by the revolutionary philosophers, and afterwards dedicated to the memory of the great men of the country, whose ashes were deposited in its vaults, was restored to its original use as a catholic temple; under its former name of the church of St. Geneviève; and the royal chapel of St. Denis, which had been the sepulchre of the various races of French Princes from the period when King Dagobert first consecrated the edifice to the patron saint of France, was restored to its pristine grandeur and

LEGISLATIVE SESSION.

sanctity. A few Republicans murmured at this erasure of the last traces of the great revolution; but their voices soon subsided into silence, when it was seen that the returned emigrants of the Faubourg St. Germain were as much outraged as themselves, at changes which indicated a sense of security in the Bonaparte dynasty, while they made the hopes of the Bourbons grow fainter and fainter.

On the 2nd of March, Napoleon opened in person the new session of the Imperial Legislature; and, in his speech from the throne on the occasion, spoke of his military successes with force and truth. "The French armies," he said, "ceased not to conquer till they ceased to combat. Our enemies are humbled and confounded. The

PUBLIC WORKS.

royal house of Naples has ceased to reign, and the entire peninsula of Italy is allied to the Great Nation." At the same time, he could not avoid alluding, with some chagrin, to his own mistaken generosity in granting to Austria such easy terms of peace, and in permitting the Russian Emperor to retreat with all that remained of his army, without a guarantee for future pacific intentions.

The Ministers then rendered an account of the situation of the empire: the rapid progress of which towards internal prosperity may be inferred from the following statement of improvements in the several departments. Of the great roads, the Minister of the Interior enumerated those of Valogne to La Hogue, and of Caen to Honfleur, as finished; that of Ajaccio to Bastia as half completed; that of Alessandria to Savona as being traced; and those of Paris to Mayence, by way of Hamburg, and of Aix-la-Chapelle to Montjoie, as surveyed and ordered. "A laudable emulation," added the Minister, "animates a great number of the communes for the restoration of the public roads in their neighbourhood." The bridges re-established were those at Kehl and Brissac, on the Rhine; at Givet, on the Meuse; at Tours, on the Cher; at Nevers and Roanne, on the Loire; at Auxonne, on the Saône; and many others of less importance. The two fierce torrents of the Durance and the Isère, previously deemed untractable, had been subjected to man's dominion, and made to flow under bridges which were at all times passable. Six grand canals carried the commerce of France from city to city, and province to province; that of St. Quentin, the canal Napoleon, joining the Rhine to the Rhône; the canal of Burgundy; those of Blavet and L'Île-et-Rance; that of Arles; and those running into Belgium. Several others were commenced, among which were those of St. Valery and Sedan, and those connecting Beaucaire with Aigues-Mortes, Niort with La Rochelle, and Nantes with Brest; several others were planned, embracing those of Censée, Charleroi, Ypres, and Briare. The ports and harbours had been improved, and rendered more commodious, more easily accessible, and more safe. The works of art and trophies of the national glory, with which the capital had been ornamented, were then spoken of by M. Champagny, who summed up their magnitude and importance by asserting, that the fruits of a year of war, under Napoleon, had been equal to those

CIVIL CODE.

of an ordinary half century of peace. New and splendid quays had been established on the banks of the Seine, where also two bridges had been erected in the preceding year. A third, more important than either of its predecessors, was on the point of being erected ; in the neighbourhood of which a new quarter of the city was designed to be built, the streets of which were intended to bear the names of the brave men who had fallen in defence of the country in the last campaign : while the bridge itself was to be called after the crowning victory of Austerlitz. At the entrance of the boulevards was to be placed a triumphal arch ; and a column, designed to commemorate the events of the war, was to attest to succeeding ages the grateful nation's sense of its soldiers' services.

The Legislative bodies replied to these statements by an address to the Emperor, couched in language which to the ears of sober criticism appears, to say the least, somewhat too enthusiastic ; but which, notwithstanding, may have arisen naturally enough from the astounding circumstances which called it forth. Words, indeed, seem to have been felt inadequate to express the speaker's consciousness of the greatness of him who, by the force of his genius and character alone, had been able from the most chaotic elements to effect such wonders. "The years of your Majesty's reign," said De Fontanes, "are more prolific of glorious events, than centuries under other dynasties."

In this session, the Legislative bodies adopted the Code of Civil procedure, which had been prepared to regulate the forms of process in all the courts throughout the empire, and to render justice more certain and easy of attainment. The Bank of France was reorganized, the Imperial University established, the taxes diminished, and greater encouragement afforded to commerce, manufactures, and agriculture. In the sitting of the 30th of March, the statute of the Imperial house received the sanction of the Legislature, in which the rights of succession and laws for the governance of the Princes and Princesses of the Emperor's family were set forth. The Bonapartes were stated in this law to belong entirely to the country ; and, as a necessity of their rank and position, they were to be ready, whenever the public weal should require such a sacrifice, to lay aside all individual feeling, and to devote themselves to their country's service in whatever way

NEW NOBILITY.

she should require. A new nobility was at the same time created; comprising hereditary principalities, dukedoms, and counties with grand fiefs attached, and titles of such importance, that the proudest of the ancient nobility of the Continent might vail their diminished heads before the humbly born marshals and generals with whom "the Corsican Adventurer" had conquered three-fourths of Europe. The principalities of Lucca, Massa-Carrara, and Garfagnana, were conferred on Eliza, the eldest of Napoleon's sisters, who, at an early age, and against the will of her brother, had married a Corsican captain of artillery named Bacciochi. Pauline, the second sister, whose first husband, General Leclerc, had died in the expedition against the negroes of St. Domingo, and who had afterwards been married to Prince Camillo Borghese, received in sovereignty the Duchy of Guastella. Murat was created Grand Duke of Berg and Cleves, Cambacérès Duke of Parma, Lebrun of Placenza; Berthier became Prince of Neufchâtel, Talleyrand of Benevento, and Bernadotte—who owed his elevation to his connexion by marriage with the Bonaparte family, added to a youthful attachment which had been entertained by Napoleon for Madame Bernadotte before her marriage—was honoured with the Italian principality of Ponte-Corvo. Soult was created Duke of Dalmatia, Lannes of Montebello, Ney of Elchingen, Caulaincourt of Vicenza, Bessières of Istria, Augereau of Castiglione, and Massena of Rivoli; while below these were a long train of dukes and counts of the empire, each of whom, had he appeared in an age less fertile of the greatest men, would have had his separate biographer, and been deemed a hero of imperishable renown. These dignities were accompanied by grants of extensive feudatories in France, or the countries which had been annexed to the empire, the income from which was fixed at a fifteenth of the general revenue of the several estates. "The possessors of ancient titles," says Sir Walter Scott, "tempted by this revival of the respect paid to birth and rank, did not fail to mingle with those whose nobility rested on the new creation; and the Emperor distinguished those olden minions of royalty with considerable favour, as they mingled among the men of new descent, and paid homage to the monarch of the day; 'because,' as one of them expressed himself, 'one must necessarily serve some person.'"

NAPLES.—HOLLAND.

Shortly after these creations, Joseph Bonaparte, without being allowed, however, to relinquish his office and title of Grand Elector of the French Empire, was elevated to the throne of Naples, from which the Bourbons had been ejected for their repeated breaches of faith, and of which they were utterly unworthy for their cowardice, and their want of patriotism and principle. About the same period, a deputation from the Batavian Republic arrived in Paris, to request that, as France and Italy had been exalted into monarchies, their states might be consolidated into a kingdom; and that the Emperor would allow his brother, Prince Louis, to become "supreme chief of their Republic, and king of Holland."—"To him," they said, "we are willing, wholly and respectfully, to confide the guardianship of our laws, the defence of our political rights, and all the interests of our beloved country, under the sacred auspices of Providence and the protection of your Majesty." Napoleon, who relied on the good disposition of Louis towards himself and France, readily granted the request of the Dutch: then turning to Louis, who was by his side during the interview, he said, "You, Prince, are called to reign over a people whose fathers owed their independence to the assistance of France. Holland afterwards became united to England—she was conquered; and a second time became indebted to France for her existence. Let her owe to you kings who may protect her liberties, her laws, and her religion: but never do you cease to be a Frenchman. The dignity of Constable of the Empire shall remain to you and your descendants. It will recall those duties you have to perform towards me." King Louis and his beautiful Queen, Hortense, accordingly proceeded to the Hague, where they commenced their reign, in the beginning of June, 1806. Lucien and Jerome, who had given offence to their brother by marriages, which deranged the Emperor's plans of forming political alliances that might assist in the establishment of the Imperial dynasty, were, for the present, overlooked in the distribution of honours and wealth among the members and connexions of the Bonaparte family.

It has been said, and we have the authority of Napoleon himself to the same effect, that in establishing the thrones of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Holland, and in placing his brother Joseph on that of Naples, his object was to environ France with useful feuda-

REFORMS.

tories and allies, whose dependance upon the Great Empire would induce them to assimilate their laws and institutions with those of the country from which they derived their power; and thus to advance the progress of civilization throughout Europe, and, it may be added, to extend Napoleon's personal authority in countries which, without precipitating a crisis for which he was not then prepared, could not be formally united to his own dominions. The new thrones and principalities, indeed, were meant to form parts of a great machine, the revolutions of all the parts of which were designed to work to one great end—"a unity of codes, principles, opinions, sentiments, views, and interests, by the help of which, and the universal diffusion of knowledge, the attempt might have been made to apply in the great European family, the principle of the American Congress, or the Amphictyons of ancient Greece. What a prospect," added the Emperor, when thus relating his views to the companions of his exile at St. Helena, "would thus have been opened of power, grandeur, happiness, and prosperity!"

Notwithstanding the occupation which these matters afforded, Napoleon found time in the midst of them to direct his attention to the definitive organization of the Council of State, the duties of which were of the greatest importance to the empire; as from that body emanated all the laws and organic changes submitted to the Legislative bodies. The Emperor generally presided at the sittings of the Council, which were seldom held less frequently than thrice a week; and the meetings very rarely failed to produce a result in the proposal or advancement of some reform calculated to benefit Frenchmen, or to improve the general or local administration of government. To this period also belongs the institution of a professorship of rural economy, in the college of Alfort, intended to promote the national agriculture, and the breed of farm cattle. An Imperial stud was established, on a liberal and large scale, to endeavour, after the English manner, to improve the French race of horses. Gambling-houses were suppressed throughout the empire; and the Jews, who had formerly been subjected to many arbitrary and uncertain laws, which imposed upon them the most harsh restrictions, were invited to send deputies to Paris, to lay before the Emperor a statement of their disabilities and grievances, in order that proper remedies might

RHENISH CONFEDERATION.

be applied, and so useful a class of subjects rendered more serviceable, as citizens, to the State.

The formation of the Confederation of the Rhine has been already mentioned, in relation to the visit of Napoleon to the Rhenish provinces of France, previously to the campaign of Austerlitz. The union, however, which had been then agreed upon, had not had time to be moulded into form, or to assume a decided character, before the recommencement of hostilities. But now that the war was closed, the Emperor resumed his project of establishing such a power, in alliance with himself, as would counterbalance the influence of the House of Austria over the German States, in any fresh attempt of that house against the independence of France. Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and a number of the German Princes, whose territories lay on the right bank of the Rhine, formed among themselves an alliance, offensive and defensive, and, renouncing their allegiance to the German Diet, chose Napoleon as their "Protector and Mediator." The reasons assigned by the Princes forming this league for separating from their ancient Allies were, that in every case of war between France and Austria they were exposed to all the evils of invasion, from which the Germanic body were unable to defend them—that body having been, indeed, on more than one occasion the chief, if not the only aggressor. By the Constitution established by the Confederation, the Allies were bound to furnish to their Protector adequate military contingents for all wars involving the safety of the States comprised in the union, or affecting their joint or separate interests. The Emperor Francis, whose family had so long been at the head of the Germanic body, having foreseen that these measures would have the effect of stripping the Holy Roman Empire of its boasted supremacy, had, at an early stage of the proceedings, laid aside his title of Emperor of Germany; and now, finding his worst fears fully verified, he formally declared the ties dissevered which had bound the German States in allegiance to him as their Sovereign and to each other as Allies. Thus, after a thousand years of stormy existence, it having commenced in the year 800, when Charlemagne received the Imperial Crown from Pope Leo the Third, sunk the once magnificent Empire of the West; not, however, without having outlived its date, and become both useless and inglorious.

DEATH OF PITT.

An advantageous treaty of peace and commerce was about the same time concluded, through the agency of General Sebastiani, the French ambassador at Constantinople, with the Sublime Porte, whose extraordinary envoy, Mouhed Effendi, obtained his first audience of the Emperor on the same day that the Dutch deputation solicited Louis Bonaparte for their king. The Sultan recognised the titles of Napoleon, and placed the "Great Nation" on a level in com-

mercial relations with the most favoured of his Allies. The subsequent publication of this treaty assisted, probably, to keep alive the hostility of England against France; she having previously enjoyed many exclusive privileges in her dealings with the Ottomans; and, perhaps, reckoned upon her services in freeing Egypt and Syria from French domination to retain the undivided friendship of her Eastern Ally.

In the mean time, an event occurred which seemed to afford a reasonable prospect of the general pacification of Europe. Mr. Pitt, whose health had been greatly affected by the frustration of his hopes at Marengo, had sunk under the disastrous intelligence of Austerlitz, and died on the 23rd of January, 1806. His generous opponent, Fox, on the demise of that great Minister, succeeded to the direction

of the councils of his country, and having held a friendly personal intercourse with Napoleon, and uniformly expressed his belief that a sound and beneficial peace might be established between Great Britain and France, his accession to power was looked upon as a pledge that amicable measures would, at least, be had recourse to. An opportunity for testing the inclinations of both parties was soon afforded. A few days after the formation of Mr. Fox's Cabinet, a French emigrant called upon the English Minister and offered for a sum of money to assassinate the Emperor; a proposal which was immediately communicated to Prince Talleyrand, with information that the British laws did not authorize the detention of foreigners, unless guilty of some offence for which they were amenable to justice beyond a limited time; but that the Premier had done the miscreant who had called on him the honour of taking him for a spy, and would not liberate him till the lapse of a sufficient period to allow "the head of the French Government" to take all necessary precautions against a meditated secret attack.

Napoleon, gratified with the noble conduct of his informant, directed Talleyrand to express his thanks for the manly frankness of the disclosure, and his own pleasure at the same time in contemplating what might be expected from a Cabinet guided by such patriotic and honest principles as those evinced by its leader. Taking advantage of the opportunity thus afforded, to confirm the truth of his desire for peace, the Emperor forthwith sent Lord Yarmouth, one of the most distinguished of the English who had been detained in France from the time of the rupture of the peace of Amiens, to London, with certain proposals for a treaty, in which he voluntarily offered to recognise in favour of England the possession of the Cape of Good Hope and Malta. All things seemed favourable for negotiation. France had effectually humbled the Continent, and England was mistress of the seas: having banished all fear of invasion by the decisive victory of Trafalgar. The amusement with which the French ladies had occupied themselves a few months before, of making purses for their countrymen to fill with British gold when they should be masters of London, had been superseded by works of better thrift; and the people began to pine for articles of British native and colonial produce, which the incessant hostilities of the two nations debarred

DEATH OF FOX.

them from obtaining. In England, too, the weight of taxation was heavily felt; and greater importance gradually became attached to Gallic manufactures as they grew more difficult of attainment. Britain could not then hope to conquer the Emperor on shore, and Napoleon had ceased to dream of competing with the navies of England on the ocean. There seemed, therefore, little to prompt a continuance of the contest; while there was a bright prospect of mutual advantage in bringing it to a close. Accordingly, upon the overtures of Napoleon, Lord Lauderdale was sent to Paris on the part of the British Government, and Champagny and General Clarke were despatched to London by the Emperor, to treat for terms of an equitable and lasting peace. It is difficult to assign a reason for the want of success which followed these favourable preliminaries. Different causes have always been assigned by the politicians of England and France—each ascribing the failure to the insincerity and obstinacy of the other. It is certain, however, that both parties approached the discussion with doubt and distrust, which probably induced each to magnify the obstacles which would necessarily arise where questions of such magnitude were to be decided, and to underrate every concession offered by the other as something which could not be withheld, or as intended merely to gloss over some secret and sinister design. But to whatever it might have been attributable, the negotiations were protracted through the summer of 1806, and only discontinued in consequence of the change of Ministry which took place upon the death of Mr. Fox, of whose services the country was deprived by death on the 15th of September, in the same year that had witnessed the demise of his rival Pitt. “The death of Fox,” said Napoleon at St. Helena, “was one of the fatalities of my career. Had his life been prolonged, affairs would have taken a totally different turn. We should soon have settled our differences; the cause of the people would have triumphed; and not only would France have been at peace with a nation, at bottom, most worthy of esteem, but together we should have established a new order of things in Europe.” There is no doubt that, at the period referred to, both Fox and Napoleon were sincere in their desires for peace: but, as Sir Walter Scott has observed, “while the two nations retained their relative power and positions, the deep jealousy and mutual animosity which subsisted

between them, would probably have rendered any peace which could have been effected a mere suspension of arms—a hollow and insincere truce, which was almost certain to give way on the slightest occasion.” That the sole hope of a speedy termination to the war had rested on the personal influence and feelings of the Premier, was rendered perfectly apparent by the adverse policy pursued by the British Cabinet immediately the spirit of that patriotic statesman had ceased to inform and animate it in its proceedings.

Before passing to the stirring events related in the following chapter, we may pause for a moment to bestow a brief glance at the private life—if such, indeed, the hasty snatches of domestic quietude which his rapid and whirling career afforded, can be justly called—of the man whom not Europe only, but the world, now regarded with fixed wonder and awe, as an agent sent upon earth by inscrutable Providence to effect a revolution in the destinies of mankind. His elevation to Imperial rank and power had changed nothing of his simple tastes and habits. He was still the unostentatious soldier of Toulon and Arcola; still the same indefatigable man as when he first entered the army a subaltern, and aspired to chief command with no better patrons to push his fortune than his own inflexible integrity, genius, and perseverance. He suffered few idle hours to escape him. He usually rose at seven, dressed with fastidious neatness, breakfasted with two or three private friends in the apartments of the Empress, generally on chickens dressed with oil and onions, and a glass of Bordeaux or Burgundy, followed by a single cup of strong coffee. Then retiring to his cabinet, the public papers, especially German and English, with the most striking passages from successful pamphlets of recent appearance, were read to him, together with such letters, reports, and petitions as required his attention. To these he sometimes wrote, but more frequently dictated answers. He afterwards received the Ministers or public officers, attended the Council, or visited and inspected the National Institutions; seldom failing to make himself acquainted with the details of the business of each. The public accounts were audited in his presence; and more than once inaccuracies and peculations were detected by himself, when they had been overlooked by professional accountants.

PRIVATE LIFE.

His dinner, which was served punctually at six, was frugal, and hastily despatched, seldom consisting of more than one course; and when this was exceeded, the additional covers were placed for the guests of the Emperor, and not for himself. With wine he was as temperate at this meal as at breakfast; and the small quantity he drank was generally diluted. Dinner, like his morning repast, invariably closed with a cup of coffee, which was presented by the Prefect of the palace, on a silver salver, and handed to Napoleon by the Empress. He rarely remained at table, but returned to his cabinet, to resume the labours of the morning; it being his constant maxim, that "nothing should be put off till to-morrow that might be done to-day." He indulged in no kind of excess, except his passion for the bath may be so considered: a passion which he considered a necessity of his existence. Here he usually remained for two hours, during which he kept constantly turning the warm water valve, till the temperature of the apartment was raised to such a pitch that the attendants, unable to endure the heat and vapour, were compelled to open the door.

He was seldom out of humour; but when this was the case, his spleen usually vented itself in a kind of humming noise, which was intended for singing, or in a few hasty words uttered while he poised himself on the hinder legs of his chair, and carved notches with a penknife in its right elbow. If, however, he found occasion to express his serious disapprobation of the conduct of any one, his remarks were harsh, sarcastic, and humiliating. But this never occurred, except upon the clearest proof of flagrant culpability; nor without the presence of a third party, in order, as he himself said, that the blow might resound to a greater distance. When pleased, nothing could surpass the easy gaiety and fascination of his conversation and manners. His expressions were rapid, pointed, and picturesque; his discourse abounded with noble views and elevated ideas of science, literature, art, and politics. He was apt, indeed, to allow himself to be carried away by the fervour and frankness of the moment, and to make indiscreet disclosures as to his future views; a species of heedlessness against which he was never sufficiently on his guard in the society of those in whom he had confidence. All who had access to him, in his hours of relaxation, speak with the

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same enthusiasm of the spell which his conversation never failed to create. The warmth of his imagination, his accented declamation, his quick utterance, which, when he was animated, it was difficult to follow; the hasty glances of his bright dark eye, which beamed with tenderness, sternness, or pleasure, according to the subject of his speech, and lighted his noble and expressive countenance into grace and beauty, gave a character to his features, which the painter and the sculptor have been able but faintly to depict. His mode of contradicting his friends was usually introduced with a slight pinch of the arm, or fillip of the ear, accompanied by the expression, "You are a simpleton," "a ninny," "a blockhead," or "an imbecile:" but he was by no means impatient of contradiction himself, even in the gravest matters; and not unfrequently his previously declared resolutions have been entirely changed by the arguments adduced in his council, or by a friend.

Napoleon was extremely fond of children, and loved to question and converse with those with whom he was brought in contact; always encouraging them to answer frankly, and without reserve. His intercourse with women was more constrained, and less gallant than that of the generality of Frenchmen. He frequently addressed to them awkward compliments upon their dress or adventures; which were usually intended as gentle satires upon what displeased him. He especially disliked the appearance of ladies who were too robust or who exposed their necks. For coloured dresses he had also a great aversion. Josephine was usually in white; was tall and graceful; and by her exquisite taste had moulded his into fastidiousness. His evenings were generally passed in the drawing-room of the Empress, where the ladies of honour and officers of the household, with a few other privileged persons, were usually assembled. All was freedom and affability at these parties. Napoleon laid aside the Emperor, and spoke with pleasure and candour to all. Monge, Bertholet, Denon, Costaz, Corvisart (his physician), and David, Gerard, Isabey, and Talma were frequently present; and the conversations which ensued have been echoed by the press throughout the world. He usually retired to rest soon after midnight; and it was one of his directions to his secretary, that, during the night, he should never be disturbed, except upon the

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arrival of bad news: "In which case," he said, "not an instant should be lost."

When he first acquired possession of unlimited power, he was accustomed to ramble of an evening through the streets of Paris, dressed in a grey surtout and round hat, and to make small purchases in shops where he was not likely to be recognised. While the single attendant, who accompanied him on these occasions, looked at the articles proposed to be bought, Napoleon entered into conversation with the shopkeeper, asking the news, and the opinions afloat respecting Bonaparte. Once he was compelled to make a precipitate retreat, to avoid the consequences of the irreverent manner in which he had spoken of himself.

His household arrangements were all under his own surveillance, and regulated with the strictest economy. It has been observed, that he was, in a great measure, his own butler, steward, and upholsterer; so strictly did he examine every account that was tendered for payment. After he became Emperor, he still continued to employ the same tradesmen who had served him in the days of his obscurity. "A silversmith, who, when the command of the Army of Italy was first conferred upon him, had given him credit for a dressing-case, worth fifty pounds, was afterwards rewarded with the patronage of the Imperial family; and, ultimately, became one of the wealthiest citizens of Paris. A hatter and a shoemaker, who had also served Napoleon when a subaltern, might have risen in a similar manner, had their skill equalled the silversmith's; but not even the Emperor's example could persuade the Parisians to wear ill-shaped hats and clumsy boots; though he himself adhered, through life, to his original connexion with these humble artisans." The extravagance of Josephine, her greatest foible, was an occasional source of annoyance to her husband. She seemed to have no idea of the value of money, and, of course, understood nothing of economy. At one period, her debts, which had been all contracted without the knowledge of Napoleon, amounted to twelve hundred thousand francs (fifty thousand pounds sterling). Napoleon was exceedingly vexed, when, through the complaints of the numerous unpaid creditors, it became necessary that he should be informed of the circumstances. "Let the bills be settled," he said, giving orders concerning the funds for that pur-

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pose ; " but not without being first submitted to me. These creditors must be rascals, robbers." From a few of the items of which the accounts were composed, it is perfectly apparent that these epithets were not wholly unmerited. The overcharges, both in quantity and price, were of the most exorbitant character. In a milliner's bill, thirty-eight new hats were charged for one month, being more than one per diem ; the feathers for which cost eighteen hundred francs ; and for the same period eight hundred francs were charged for perfumery. So gross and glaring, indeed, was the knavery practised, that almost every creditor was satisfied with half the amount of his account ; and one, who accepted thirty-five thousand in full for eighty thousand francs, admitted that he had made a good profit after all. This thoughtless profusion of the Empress created the sole disorder which was ever known in the Imperial household.

In literature, Napoleon seldom occupied his time with the light works of the day. Homer, Virgil, Tasso, Ossian, who was an especial favourite ; the classical historians, philosophers, and orators ; the great French poets and historians ; the novelists of France and England, and the best mathematical writers, engaged nearly all the hours he could devote to reading. Corneille he esteemed the greatest poet of modern times. " Had he lived in my day," he once exclaimed, after witnessing the representation of ' Cinna,' " I would have made him a prince." The memory of the Emperor, for facts, persons, and localities, was prodigious ; but he less readily remembered names and dates. He had no faith in physic, which he deemed merely a conjectural art, the advantages of which were incapable of demonstration. He took snuff ; though not in large quantities, nor from the pocket of his vest, as has been sometimes represented. He had finely formed hands, of which he was exceedingly careful. His teeth were white, and well set. In walking, he stooped a little in his gait ; and generally, if alone, had his hands crossed behind his back. He seemed almost insensible to fatigue, whether with the army, in his cabinet, or at his ordinary exercise of walking, writing, or dictating. His health was excellent, and his sleep sound and refreshing.

To sum the character of his private life, he was cheerful, kind, and benevolent ; with a large share of indulgence for the weakness and frailty of others, and with less follies of his own than might have been

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pardonable in his situation and circumstances. So they who knew him best have always spoken of him; even those who were least lenient to what they considered the errors of his political career, or the madness of his ambition.

1143.

CHAPTER XXIII.

**NORTHERN CONFEDERACY — SECOND VISIT OF ALEXANDER TO BERLIN —
RENEWAL OF THE WAR WITH RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA—SAALFELD—DEATH
OF PRINCE LOUIS — JENA — AUERSTADT — THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK
WOUNDED—POTSDAM—VISIT TO THE TOMB OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.
1806.**

UNDER the guidance of the British Government, the Emperor Alexander had sued for peace in the summer of 1806, and a treaty had been signed by the Ministers of France and Russia on the 20th of July; but the death of Fox having diverted the Court of England from its pacific policy, the Autocrat refused to ratify the act of his ambassador, and entered into a new compact with England to renew the war on the Continent. In the meantime, the negotiations that had been carried on between France and England necessarily transpired in the British Parliament; by which it appeared, that although, by the treaty with Haugwitz

NORTHERN CONFEDERATION.

at Vienna, the electorate of Hanover had been ceded to Prussia, Napoleon had not considered that a final disposition; and was prepared, for the sake of a general peace, to restore to the King of England his German dominions, and to indemnify Prussia in some other way. Frederick William, notwithstanding his former professions, that he held Hanover only till peace should be restored, was not prepared to let his prize so speedily escape him, and was therefore exasperated, beyond measure, to find that his own duplicity was likely to be retorted on himself. He now first began to perceive, that his own arts had not misled Napoleon; and that, having allowed the time when decisive conduct on his part might have had an influence on the affairs of Europe, to pass away in treacherous inactivity, his power was despised and himself contemned by all parties. The rage of the King and his Court knew no bounds. "Prussia," says Mr. Hazlitt, "had followed the war as a suttler, to pick up what she could get;" and now seeing that her acquisitions, in that more than questionable capacity, were only to be held on sufferance, she resolved to abandon the character of mercenary, and assume a chivalrous and heroic part. The power of Austria had been humbled; a circumstance which occasioned rejoicings, rather than sympathy, at Berlin—for the house of Brandenburg had long aspired to the Imperial crown of Germany, and saw no way of attaining its object but by the depression of the family whose brows that crown had so long encircled. The Confederation of the Rhine, and the consequent dissolution of the Germanic League, had dissipated these illusive hopes; and Frederick William saw, with the bitterest chagrin, that the influence which he had reckoned to acquire, by the prostration of his rival, had already passed into the hands of the French Emperor. In order to oppose an effective barrier to the growing power of Napoleon, the Prussian Monarch endeavoured to form a confederacy, of which he should be Protector, of the same character as that of the Rhine. The Prince of Hesse Cassel, however, and the Elector of Saxony, chose to decline acceding to the proposal; the former from fear of Napoleon's displeasure, the latter from attachment to his person and policy: and when the French Emperor was appealed to, respecting the force which Prussia sought to exert, he at once asserted, that as no compulsion had been used in the Rhenish

QUEEN OF PRUSSIA.

Confederation, none should be permitted in that designed to oppose it.

Finding all his schemes of national and personal aggrandisement, therefore, likely to prove abortive, Frederick William resolved to have recourse to arms. Every artifice was used to inflame the Prussians against the French. Prince Louis, the brother of the King, talked incessantly of the victories of the Great Frederick, and contrasted the glory and prosperity of those days, with the present inactivity and the decaying importance of the nation. The Queen, a beautiful and masculine-spirited woman, put on the uniform of the regiment which bore her name, frequently appeared at its head, and harangued the soldiers on what she called the wrongs and insults which had been heaped upon the country. The enthusiasm of the young courtiers,

who held command in the army, was soon excited and communicated to the soldiery. Some of the former, indeed, are reported in their fury to have broken the windows of such of the Prussian Ministers' houses as they conceived to be pacifically inclined towards France, to have applied every offensive term in their vocabulary to Napoleon, and to have sharpened their swords on the threshold of the French ambassador's hotel.

The movement party in Paris was as active in fomenting the rupture

EXECUTION OF PALM.

as that at Berlin. The officers and generals, who had won rank and fame in the wars of Napoleon, were desirous of increasing their laurels and fortunes; and those who had not yet attained the rank to which they aspired, could hope only to acquire the distinction they sought on the field of battle. Murat was at the head of this faction; and finding some hesitation on the part of the Emperor to commence hostilities, he got up a petty quarrel of his own, by seizing the abbeys of Etten, Essen, and Werden in the county of Marck, as part of the domain of his Grand Duchy of Berg. The Prussians, to whom these estates seem really to have belonged, resisted this stretch of authority, and in the end some musket shots were exchanged. Prince Talleyrand stood almost alone among the French Ministry, in contending that the Empire could only be consolidated by peace. "The victories of the Emperor," he said, "may be best designated by an algebraic series, of which the first term was *a*, and the last will be *zero*."

In the meantime, the press throughout Germany and France teemed with libellous papers and pamphlets, filled with the utmost rancour and malignity, against Napoleon and his family on the one hand, and the King and Queen and Prince Louis of Prussia on the other. This species of warfare was not unattended by crimes of a deeper dye than generally belongs to literary skirmishing. Among the emigrants in the free towns of Germany, miscreants were constantly starting up and offering for sums of money to assassinate the Emperor and his officers. General Dumouriez was the patron of these men, and the advocate of their schemes; and one Palm, a bookseller of the city of Naumburg, was the publisher of their detestable speculations. Some attempts were made to arrest the leader of these desperadoes; but failing in that, a body of *gens-d'armes*, by order of Davoust, who had been left in command of the district, seized upon Palm, and conveyed him prisoner to Braunau, where he was tried before a military tribunal, condemned, and immediately afterwards shot. This, although the bookseller's conduct was highly reprehensible, was an illegal, and therefore unjustifiable proceeding, inasmuch as Palm was not amenable to the tribunal by which he was sentenced; and it excited universal indignation throughout Germany. Sir Walter Scott ascribes to it consequences of the utmost importance. "The thousand presses of Germany," he

ALEXANDER AT BERLIN.

says, "continued on every possible opportunity to dwell on the fate of Palm; and, at the distance of six or seven years from his death, it might be reckoned amongst the leading causes which determined the popular opinion against Napoleon." There is no evidence, however, and scarcely any probability, that the Emperor himself was aware of the crime, for such it certainly was, until after its commission. It served the purpose of the moment, nevertheless, to fix new odium upon him; and furnished an additional pretext for the hostility of those who were predetermined to be his enemies.

In the midst of the excitement which now prevailed in Prussia, the Emperor Alexander once more appeared at Berlin to urge the King to take up arms in the cause of the Allies. Frederick William, who had nothing to hope from further delay or dissimulation, readily renewed his vow at the tomb of the Great Frederick for the liberation of Germany, and received a promise from the Czar that, when he was ready to take the field, the whole military force of Russia should be at his disposal. The English Government, also, about this time, notwithstanding the retention of Hanover by Prussia, sent Lord Morpeth to Berlin to offer a large subsidy for her assistance against France; so implacable was the hatred of the Courts of Europe against the new Empire, that neither national wrong nor personal insult inflicted by each other could be strong enough to cause a diversion from the one great object of humbling Napoleon.

Prussia began her preparations for war about the middle of August; the whole people appearing to enter upon the work with enthusiasm. Napoleon, perfectly acquainted with what was passing, was not idle. He wrote to his Allies of the Rhenish Confederation to denounce the intentions of Prussia and Russia, and to claim the contingents promised by the Constitution of the Union. On the 25th of September, having heard from Berthier, who was at Munich, that the Prussians were disposed to commence hostilities without a previous declaration, he resolved to anticipate them, and accordingly quitted Paris for the Rhine, accompanied as far as Mayence by the Empress. Orders were thence despatched to Strasburg, to embark all the troops from that fortress and the neighbourhood on the Rhine; and to Holland, to direct the Dutch army to enter Munster and advance with all speed to the Weser. On the 30th the Emperor was at Wurtzburg, where

LETTER OF FREDERICK WILLIAM.

he was hospitably entertained by the Elector, and received the accession of that Prince to the Confederation of which Napoleon was Protector. On the 1st of October he passed the Rhine; and on the same day, Prince Talleyrand, who had remained at Paris, demanded of the Prussian ambassador, who had not yet been recalled, an explanation of the preparations which were being made at Berlin. Count Knobelsdorff, in reply, delivered a manifesto, containing a long list of grievances and demands; in which, among other things, it was required that the French troops should evacuate the territories of the Rhenish Confederacy by the 8th of October; and that the Emperor should thenceforth cease to offer any obstacle to the formation of a league in the north of Germany. This was accompanied by a letter, or pamphlet, of about twenty pages, signed by the King of Prussia, containing the most insulting remarks on the character and policy of Napoleon; proving, according to the admission of Sir Walter Scott, that Frederick William felt "less actually aggrieved, than mortified and offended."

On the 7th of October, the French head-quarters were at Bamberg, when the messenger despatched by Talleyrand overtook the Emperor with the Prussian documents. On reading the letter, Napoleon handed it to the generals near him, with the observation, "I pity my brother, the King of Prussia, who does not understand French, and has certainly never read that rhapsody." With reference to the manifesto he remarked, "The French army has done more than it was bidden. We are commanded to quit the territories of the Rhenish Confederation by the 8th; this is but the 7th, and we have already quitted them." An address to the army was at this time published, in which allusion was made to the offensive notes of the Prussian Sovereign. "Our enemies have dared to demand," he said, "that we, the soldiers of Austerlitz, should retreat at sight of their armies. The same faction, the same giddy spirit, which taking advantage of the internal dissensions of France, conducted Prussian troops fourteen years ago to the plains of Champagne, now presides over their councils. They then encountered defeat, death, and shame. March! therefore, and let them again meet the same fate; since experience has not taught them, that while it is easy with the friendship of France to acquire increased power and territory, her

PRUSSIAN DISPOSITIONS.

enmity, which none will provoke who are not lost to all sense and reason, is more terrible than the tempests of the ocean."

These pointed remarks were addressed more particularly to the Duke of Brunswick; who, after having lost his youthful reputation, by his disgraceful flight from Champagne before Dumouriez and his army of conscripts, in 1792, had now again been placed at the head of the Prussian troops. The Duke was seventy-two years old, obstinate, and self-sufficient, entertaining profound contempt for the opinions and experience of others, and gifted with little of that genius which was indispensable to him who should hope to compete successfully with Napoleon. His plan of the campaign was singularly injudicious. Instead of awaiting the advance of the Russians on his own frontier, he resolved to push forwards towards Franconia, in order to compel the Elector of Saxony, who wished to remain neutral, to unite his forces to those of Prussia. The conduct of Frederick William in this respect, was an exact counterpart of that of the Emperor Francis towards Bavaria, in the preceding campaign. The Saxon Prince, however, was not so fortunate as Maximilian, to be able to withdraw his troops before the arrival of the coercing army. His troops were therefore united with those of Prussia, but necessarily without the slightest good-will to the cause, of which they were thus forced to become partisans: nor was their friendship at all conciliated by their masters, who conducted themselves in Saxony in precisely the same manner as if in an enemy's country. The Prussian line was next extended to a length of ninety miles, in order to enable the troops to procure forage and subsistence, which the barren country of Weimar was unable to supply. Their disposition, therefore, resembled cantonments rather than a military position; and as the Duke of Brunswick remained on the defensive, an opportunity was afforded for Napoleon to attack his forces in detail: a mode by which he had ruined every European army yet opposed to him.

The magazines, reserves of artillery, ammunition, and provisions of the Prussians, instead of being in the rearward of their centre, were placed at Naumburg, on their extreme right. Having obtained information of this fact, and observed the general want of skill in the tactics of his opponents, the French Emperor immediately decided on the plan of his campaign. Dividing his army into three bodies, he

OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN.

gave orders, on the 8th of October, for a simultaneous advance on several points of the enemy's line. The right wing, commanded by Ney and Soult, marched upon Hof. The centre, under Davoust and Bernadotte, with the Guard, which was led by Murat, and accompanied by Napoleon himself, moved towards Saalburg; and the left, under Lannes and Augereau, marched against Coburg and Saalfeld. The first skirmish took place, on the 9th, when the village of Schleitz, in the forest of Franconia, was captured by the corps of Bernadotte, and the greater portion of its defenders, consisting of six thousand Prussians, became prisoners of war. In this action, Murat particularly distinguished himself, heading the charges of the Guard, sabre in hand.

On the 10th, the division of Lannes encountered, at Saalfeld, Prince Louis of Prussia with the advanced guard of Prince Hohenlohe, who commanded the Prussian left. The young Prince, instead of waiting to defend the bridge over the Saale, abandoned that strong position and advanced into the open plain to give battle, with the vain hope that bravery might serve, instead of skill and experience, against superior numbers and a commander of the highest talent. Prince Louis exhibited the utmost gallantry in leading his soldiers

DEATH OF PRINCE LOUIS.

to the attack, and rallying them when they fled; but the impetuosity of the French bore down all opposition; and, after a brief but valiant resistance, the rout of the Prussians was complete. The Prince, in a last desperate attempt to stay his flying squadrons, was overtaken by a quarter-master of hussars, named Guindet, who, after calling upon him to surrender, and receiving a sabre cut for reply, ran his sword through the Prince's body: thus, according to the bulletin which

contained the account of the battle, "Among the earliest results of the war, was the death of one of its authors." This victory gave the French access to the country behind the Saale, and enabled them to advance upon Naumburg, in the enemy's rear.

On the 12th, the advanced posts of Napoleon's army were at the gates of Leipsic, and his own head-quarters at Gera. The issue of the struggle appeared, to the Emperor, no longer doubtful: in order, therefore, to remove from his own mind the responsibility of con-

LETTER TO FREDERICK WILLIAM.

tinuing what must henceforth be an aggressive war, and to evince his desire for peace, he addressed a letter to the King of Prussia, in which, feigning to reply to that of Frederick William which had been received at Bamberg, he expressed his regret that his brother had been made to sign the absurd compositions of his ministers, which were opposed alike to the honour and dignity of their master, and of him to whom they had been sent. Notwithstanding this, however, Napoleon expressed his willingness to grant to Prussia any reasonable favour, so that it might save the lives of the numbers which must otherwise fall on each side, ere a final victory could decide the contest. He reminded the King, that this was not with himself the commencement of a military career; and that he was not likely to fear the hazards of battle: he merely wished, he said, to save his Majesty the mortification of utter defeat, to preserve his repose, and the existence of his subjects. Assuming that the Prussian Monarch must be aware that he was vanquished, Napoleon offered to treat with him on terms, and in a manner befitting his rank; but informed him, that a month hence their relative situations might be different, and that what was now voluntarily offered might be then refused to the most earnest solicitations. In conclusion, he urged his brother to dismiss from his councils those malevolent persons who had urged the commencement of the present war, and thereby endangered the existence of his Majesty's throne, and disturbed the tranquillity of his people.

Without waiting for, or perhaps expecting, a reply to this letter, Napoleon directed the concentration of his right and left at Jena, while the centre advanced to Naumburg, where the magazines of the enemy were captured and consigned to the flames: their explosion first announcing to the astonished Duke of Brunswick, and the King his master, that the French army was in their rear, had destroyed their reserves, and that they had consequently no alternative but to give battle in an isolated position, and without the possibility of exercising any discretion as to time or place. The Prussian chiefs had also this additional reflection to embarrass their councils; that, in case of disaster, no line of retreat was open to them, and it could not be hoped that their scattered forces could be again collected for a concerted movement. "The enemy was betwixt them and Magde-

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burg, which ought to have been their rallying point ; and the army of the Great Frederick," says Scott, " was brought to combat with as little military science as a herd of school-boys might have displayed in a mutiny." In this desperate situation, the Duke of Brunswick resolved to make a last effort for the recovery of Naumburg, and the re-establishment of communications with his rear. With this intention he divided his army into two bodies, one of which he led in person, accompanied by the King of Prussia, towards Naumburg ; and the other, under the command of Marshal Mollendorf and the Prince of Hohenlohe, was directed to force its passage through the French lines in the neighbourhood of Jena.

Napoleon, with the division of Lannes and the foot-guards, reached Jena in the evening of the 13th of October. The enemy was already in line a short distance in advance, and evidently intended to attempt forcing the passes of the Saale next morning. The sun had not quite set, when the Emperor, who had not expected that the Prussians were so near, and whose heavy artillery was still thirty-six hours' march behind, alighted from his horse, and went to reconnoitre, proceeding until some musket shots were fired at him : he then returned, and ordered the positions of the columns to be taken up after dark. The utmost precautions and vigilance were necessary to complete the required arrangements before day-break. Soult and Ney had not yet come up ; and Murat, Davoust, and Bernadotte were at Naumburg. Napoleon's bivouac was on the summit of a plateau, or rising ground, overlooking Jena, and in the midst of his troops. Here he supped with his generals, and afterwards went to see that nothing had been neglected that could conduce to the success of the next day's fight. He had scarcely descended the hillock when he found that the whole of Lannes' artillery had stuck fast in a ravine, which, in the darkness, had been mistaken for a road. There was no time to waste in reproaches or enquiries. The Emperor, therefore, set instantly to work to rectify the mishap. Taking upon himself the duties of an artillery officer, he collected the men, with their park tools and lanterns, and directed the widening of the ravine so as to extricate the axle-trees of the gun carriages from the rocks between which they were wedged. He did not quit the spot till the first waggon had been drawn up the new road thus formed, and some

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guns mounted on the plateau, where no enemy would have looked for such engines, and where consequently a small park was likely to be more effective than a much larger one in a situation where its presence might have been expected.

Returning to the plateau, accompanied by two or three officers only, he was mistaken for a spy, and fired upon by a sentinel of his own army. The Prussians were said to be greatly addicted to nocturnal attacks, and a large portion of the line, alarmed by the report, instantly discharged their muskets. The Emperor had no refuge but to throw himself flat upon the ground until the mistake should be discovered; a situation which was rendered more unpleasant by apprehension that the enemy would also take the alarm and fire. He did not regain his bivouac till after midnight, when

he saw by the watch-fires in the enemy's front that the Prussians still lay stretched on a line of six leagues, while his own army was concentrated within the narrowest compass. Both armies were actively preparing for the work of the ensuing day. The hostile ranks were within half cannon-shot of each other, and the sentinels at the advanced posts nearly met. Ney and Soult arrived during the night, and took the posts which had been reserved for them. Before daybreak, on the 14th of October, the whole of the French troops were under arms; but there was a dense fog upon the ground, which prevented the Emperor from commencing the engagement so early as

he had purposed. He harangued his soldiers, however, exhorting them to stand firm against the Prussian cavalry, the charges of which had been represented as extremely formidable. He reminded them that it was nearly a year since the capitulation of Ulm, when the Austrians were in similar circumstances to those of the Prussians at present; being cut off from their line of operations, their magazines and stores, and compelled to fight, not for glory, but for the means of retreat. The corps, he added, which should permit the enemy to escape would forfeit its honour and reputation. The soldiers replied to this animating address with loud shouts, demanding instant orders to march against the foe. The columns which were to commence the attack were then ordered to advance into the plain: this being done, at about nine o'clock the wind arose and the sun shone out, which, speedily dissipating the mist that had previously concealed the movements of the two armies, discovered the hostile lines close upon each other. The French centre was commanded by Lannes, who was supported by the Imperial Guard under Lefebvre; the corps of Augereau formed the right, and that of Soult constituted the left. The conflict instantly commenced, the Prussians attacking the French right in order to expel Augereau from a village of which he had taken possession, and to turn his flank. The charge was vigorous and well-sustained, and the battle raged for some time on this point with variable success: the French and Prussians alternately occupying the contested position. A detachment from the centre was at length sent by Napoleon to the assistance of the right, and the enemy was effectively dislodged.

The entire centre now advanced, and by the rapidity of its movement, the skill with which it was managed, and the cool bravery of the soldiers, forced Mollendorf to shift his whole position. Still, however, the Prussians fought gallantly; and though compelled by the impetuosity of their opponents to give way, they retreated steadily and slowly, disputing the ground inch by inch, so as to afford no advantage to any one who might have attempted pursuit. Soult, meanwhile, had led a series of heavy charges against the Prussian right, and, after a struggle of the most desperate character, succeeded in dispossessing the enemy of the woods in which they had been stationed at the commencement of the action. At this period, Marshal

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screams of the wounded. If any corps, being opposed to a superior force, hesitated for a moment, the Emperor's name was sufficient to revive their courage and induce them to rush to the combat. In the midst of a fierce *melée*, Napoleon, perceiving that the eagles of one of his infantry regiments were menaced by the enemy's cavalry, galloped instantly to the spot to form the square and repulse the assailants. The Imperial Guard are said to have been exceedingly vexed at the inactivity in which they were kept, while the rest of the army were engaged; and as the Emperor was about to ride from their front to another part of the field, one of the young soldiers, unconsciously exclaimed, "Forward!" The Emperor paused for a moment, and, turning to the youth who had displayed such eagerness to signalise his courage, said, "It is not for a beardless boy to teach me what should be done. When he has obeyed the word of command in thirty pitched battles, he may presume to offer me advice!"

On the same day, and at nearly the same hour, a battle was fought between Davoust and the Duke of Brunswick, who met nearly in the same manner as the armies of Napoleon and Mollendorf and Hohenlohe on the evening of the 13th. Davoust, guessing the intentions of the enemy, took possession of the strong defiles of Keesen to prevent the passage of troops towards Naumburg. On the morning of the 14th, after some delay, occasioned by the fog, the conflict commenced at the village of Hassen-Haussen. The Prussians outnumbered the French by four to one; but the discipline and valour of the latter seemed to afford a match for all odds. The German cavalry charged repeatedly, but was on every occasion repelled with loss by the brave infantry of Napoleon, which it seemed impossible to break or to throw into disorder. Davoust, however, fearful for the result, despatched a messenger to Bernadotte, who was not above a league behind, to hasten to the scene of action; but *the Prince*, taking offence at the peremptory demand of *the Marshal*, instead of crossing the Saale at the bridge by which Davoust had debouched, sought a passage higher up the river, and contrived to absent himself, and to keep his corps from the whole engagement. The cannonade commenced at eight; and, about eleven, the French soldiers, having carried the woods and villages of Spilberg at the point of the bayonet, assumed the offensive on all points of the enemy's line.

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The Generalissimo, Duke of Brunswick, was about this time wounded in the face by a grape-shot, which obliged him to be carried off the field. General Schmettau and several other officers of distinction were shortly afterwards borne away in a similarly helpless condition: but Frederick William himself was in the midst of his soldiers, and still cheered them on to the fight, which continued to be so fiercely maintained, that Davoust could only retain his men in the field, against such fearful disparity of numbers, by shewing himself everywhere. In vain did his aides-de-camp hurry to and fro to urge Bernadotte to hasten forward with succour: that General continued to seek for a bridge, where he well knew none existed, in the hope, perhaps, that the forces of Davoust would be annihilated, and the power of Napoleon himself by that means, in some measure, humbled. He even contrived for a time to

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mislead Murat and the cavalry, who consequently did not arrive at Auerstadt in time to render nearly so much service as they might have done an hour or two earlier.

At length, the King of Prussia, having received intelligence that Hohenlohe and Mollendorf were on the point of being defeated at Jena, and hoping, by one blow, to retrieve the fortune of the day, took the desperate resolution of making a general attack along the whole of the French line, with all the troops he had in the field. The soldiers had now lost confidence in their leaders, and the charge was consequently feeble and irresolute, and easily repelled by the French. As a last resource, the enemy's reserves were sent in; but the battle was already lost. Davoust advanced with ardour; and being admirably supported by Murat, who just then arrived on the ground with his dragoons, broke through the Prussian lines at all points, and, throwing them into confusion, pursued them, with dreadful havoc, towards Weimar; where, blending with the routed squadrons of their right-wing, who were flying in the same direction, the retreat assumed the most terrific character. The roads were choked with artillery, baggage-waggons, men and horses, trampling down and impeding each other in their haste to escape. The King, himself, seeing no chance of safety among the mass of his soldiers, quitted the high road, and fled across the fields, with a small escort of cavalry and the officers of his staff. There was henceforth an end to all discipline among the wrecks of this magnificent army, which the evening before had numbered upwards of a hundred thousand men. Scarcely a general, indeed, remained with them to issue orders, had the soldiers been disposed or able to obey. The pursuit continued for a space of six leagues, and was only discontinued in consequence of the darkness of the night.

After dusk, the Emperor rode over the field of battle, as at Austerlitz, often alighting from his horse to speak a few cheerful words, or administer a little brandy to the wounded, or to place his hand on the breast of a soldier, to ascertain if his heart still beat, or there remained any chance of life. He then proceeded to Jena, to pass the night, where he was waited on by the Professors of the University: the Vicar was also presented to him, who, having shewn great attention to the wounded, was rewarded for his humanity. Prisoners

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continued to be brought into the town during the whole night, among whom were about six thousand Saxons, with a great number of generals and officers of distinction. On the following morning, these officers were assembled in the great hall of the University, when the Emperor, through an interpreter, informed them that he was not their enemy, nor the enemy of their Prince, whom he knew to have been compelled to aid the designs of Prussia. "The place of Saxony," he said, "is marked in the Confederation of the Rhine. France is the natural protector of the Saxons against the violence of Prussia." On condition that they would not again bear arms against France during the campaign, the whole of these prisoners were liberated and sent home; being made the bearers of a proclamation to their countrymen, stating that the people of the Great Nation regarded them as friends and brothers.

The loss of the enemy, in the two battles of Jena and Auerstadt, is computed to have exceeded twenty thousand in killed and wounded, and double that number in prisoners; among whom were more than twenty generals and several lieutenant-generals, including General Schmettau. The Duke of Brunswick was carried to Altona, whence he intended to embark for England, but his wound proved mortal; and, after lingering for a few days at a miserable inn on the coast, he died on the 10th of November. Prince Henry of Prussia was also among the wounded. The cannon taken on this day amounted to three hundred; the standards, to sixty. The French loss was comparatively trifling—about fifteen hundred killed and three thousand wounded. Not a man of any considerable note was injured. Lannes had his breast laid bare, and Davoust had his hat carried away, and his clothes pierced by a number of balls during the action; but neither of these brave officers was wounded.

Napoleon, after ascertaining the results of the battle, went in an open carriage to Weimar, near which he met an officer, bearing a letter from the King of Prussia, desiring an armistice. This was refused, on the grounds that the object sought was not peace, but to remove the seat of war from Prussia into the dominions of the Princes in alliance with France; that the Emperor's mistaken generosity, at the close of the last campaign, had been a means of encouraging the present war; and, consequently, that it would be unjust towards the

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French and the Rhenish Confederation to cease hostilities, without the prospect of a satisfactory peace. From Weimer, orders were despatched to Bernadotte to advance against the Prince of Wurtemberg, who being desirous of military distinction had, contrary to the express commands of his father, solicited and obtained a post in the Prussian army; and having been disengaged during the recent actions, instead of retiring with his corps of sixteen thousand fresh troops, which would have formed an admirable nucleus for dispersed parties of his friends to rally round, advanced towards Halle, to confront the victorious troops which had just overthrown the grand army of the King, his master. The Prince's military career of course ended with his first engagement. Napoleon, on learning that he was a prisoner, refused to receive him as a Prussian General, but sent him back to his father's capital, as one whose chief offence consisted in his infraction of paternal discipline. Murat, about this time, invested Erfurt, into which Marshal Mollendorf and the Prince of Orange had thrown themselves, with a garrison of eighteen thousand men, and which surrendered almost at the first summons. General Kalkreuth, at the head of a large body of troops, was overtaken and made prisoner while attempting to escape across the Hartz mountains. Sir Walter Scott describes the wrecks of the Prussian army, at this time, as resembling "coveys of heath-fowl, which the sportsman marks down and destroys in detail, and at his leisure." The discomfited soldiers were wandering about the country, indeed, in all directions, each seeking a means of escape for himself, and frequently shunning an union with other stragglers, lest pursuit should be attracted by numbers.

In the meantime, Napoleon removed his head-quarters to Naumburg, where he first learned from Davoust the extent of Bernadotte's misconduct at Auerstadt. "If I were to deliver him to a court-martial," said the Emperor, "nothing could save him from being shot. I must, therefore, overlook it. I do not think him so lost to every sense of honour as not to feel the disgrace of having committed a base action: nevertheless, I shall not fail to let him know my mind on the subject." This conversation was shortly afterwards reported at Hamburg to Bernadotte, who endeavoured to palliate his behaviour by stating, that he was piqued at receiving what he considered

FIELD OF ROSBACH.

orders from Davoust. "I, however, did my duty!" added the *Gascon* Marshal. The infatuation of the Emperor, with regard to this man, can only be accounted for by the fact, that we are frequently at more pains to win the esteem of one whom we have always considered adverse to us, than to conciliate and do justice to those of whose fidelity and attachment we have never entertained a doubt.

Passing from Naumburg to Halle, Napoleon rode over the field of Rosbach, where, in 1757, the Great Frederick obtained a signal victory over the French and Hanoverian armies. Although he had never been in the neighbourhood, the ground was so familiar to him from former geographical and military studies, that he was enabled to direct an aide-de-camp to the spot where a column had been erected to commemorate the victory. "Gallop in that direction," said the Emperor, pointing with his hand, "and at the distance of half a league you will find the Prussian monument, which I intend to have removed to Paris." The column was found at the place indicated, and, being taken down by some of General Suchet's

sappers, and placed among the other trophies of Imperial conquest, was eventually transported on carriages to the French capital. The hopes which Napoleon had frequently expressed concerning the

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respect which posterity would pay to the monuments of his own victories, were little in accordance with his conduct in despoiling the plain of Rosbach of its solitary pillar.

Halle was captured on the 17th of October. On the 18th, Davoust entered Leipsic; and on the 21st, Soult and Murat attacked Magdeburg, where Prince Hohenlohe had collected nearly fifty thousand fugitives and newly-arrived troops, hoping to make a stand till the advancing Russians could come up to save the capital. Magdeburg, however, had been drained of its stores and provisions by the Duke of Brunswick before the battle of Jena, and famine, as well as assault, threatened the numerous assemblage now cooped within the walls of the fortress. The Prince, therefore, leaving about sixteen thousand men in the city as a garrison, attempted to effect his escape with the rest to the Oder; but being hotly pursued, he drew up the advanced guard and centre of his army on the heights of Prentzlau, where being without forage, provisions, or ammunition, they were compelled to the number of twenty thousand to lay down their arms. The rear of this army, consisting of about ten thousand men, did not immediately share the fate of its main-body and van; but, under the skilful generalship of the celebrated Blucher, contrived to slip away towards Strelitz, determined to pass the Elbe at Lauenburg, and reinforce the Prussian garrisons in Lower Saxony.

On the 22nd or 23rd, Napoleon received an envoy from the wounded Duke of Brunswick, who, feeling his end approaching, was desirous to conciliate his victor, and induce the latter to spare his hereditary dominions, as being unconcerned in the quarrels of Prussia, although he, the Prince, as an individual, had assumed the Prussian uniform and appeared in arms against France. The Emperor, in replying to this calculating and sophistical appeal, reminded the Duke that he had held different language in 1792, when, in his vaunting manifesto published in the name of the Allied Sovereigns, he had denounced military execution against all the constituted authorities of Paris, threatened to consign that capital to the licence of pillage and the flames, and not to leave one stone of its walls and houses upon another; while the inhabitants of the departments who should endeavour to defend their country or themselves, were menaced with death as traitors and rebels: their towns and villages were to be

POTSDAM.

sacked and burnt, and their fields ravaged and destroyed—unless the decrees of the several powers, which had armed against the assumption by the French People of a right to choose their own form of government, should be implicitly and literally obeyed. The Prince was further reminded of the recent threat of chastisement held forth to the Grand Army of France unless, in a given time, it evacuated the territories of the Rhenish Confederacy. He was charged, also, as one of the chief instigators of the war, which his councils ought to have prevented; and, finally, he was informed that, although by the laws of retaliation the Emperor would be justified in threatening to take the same vengeance upon the Brunswickers as their Chief had denounced against the French, the Duke might be assured that the persons and property of the peaceable citizens in his State would be respected by their victors, not a man of whom was capable of committing such outrages as those, the bare enumerations of which in the German proclamation alluded to, proved to have been at least contemplated by others. A period was put to all further correspondence on the subject by the speedy death of the aged and mortified Duke; and the Principality of Brunswick was taken possession of by the French. Much has been said in England of the Emperor's harsh treatment of the Duke;—it has been characterized as being unworthy of a soldier and a monarch: but this appears to have arisen from a false sympathy with the father-in-law of the heir to the British throne, rather than to have been elicited by a fair consideration of the circumstances themselves. The Duke, as one of the oldest soldiers in Europe, could not fail to be aware, that in unsheathing his sword against France, he defied the hazards of war, in fortune as well as in person.

On the 24th of October, Napoleon entered Potsdam, and in the evening visited the palace of Sans-Souci; where he went over the apartments of the Great Frederick, the furniture and decorations of which were in precisely the same state in which they had been left at the death of their royal occupant. The old writing-table of the King still bore the inkstand and pens of the correspondent of Voltaire and patron of Hogarth. His favourite books were still upon their shelves, and Napoleon was evidently the first who had taken them thence since the decease of their original owner. Many contained

CABINET OF FREDERICK II.

marginal notes in the hand-writing of the Monarch ; and the maps exhibited proofs of having been used for tracing the military operations of the Seven-Years' War. The Emperor sat for some time in profound meditation, in the royal cabinet ; and, before departing, examined the gardens and terraces around the palace, and requested that the favourite walks and resorts of the King should be pointed out to him. He returned for the night to Potsdam, where he forbade any one to occupy the private apartments of the Prussian Queen. In one of the drawers of her Majesty's dressing-room, however, which, notwithstanding the prohibition, seems to have been strictly examined, was found a memorial drawn up by the emigrant Dumouriez, detailing a scheme of that general's for subduing the power of Napoleon, and subjugating his own country.

TOMB OF FREDERICK II.

On the morning of the 25th, after having reviewed the Imperial foot-guards, Napoleon went with his staff to inspect the vault containing the ashes of Frederick II. The remains of that celebrated warrior, legislator, and author, were enclosed in a double coffin of wood and copper, in a niche, protected by a massive door. But there was neither ornament, trophy, nor any mark of distinction, save the word FREDERICO II., engraven on the coffin itself, to recall the deeds

which had first caused the Prussian name to be respected throughout Europe. Among the spoils which the Emperor took from Potsdam, were the sword, the Cross of the Black Eagle, and the sash of the deceased King, and the flags which had been borne by his guards during his campaigns. These trophies of conquest, which an ordinary victor would probably have spared, were presented by Napoleon to the Hotel of Invalids, at Paris; where they were received by the disabled veterans of the army which had served against Frederick in Hanover, with the most profound respect and veneration, as appertaining to one of the greatest captains whose exploits have been

RELICS.

recorded in history. "I am better pleased with these relics," said Napoleon, as he took the sword of Frederick from above the tomb where it hung, and drew it from its scabbard, "than if I had found a treasure of twenty millions of francs!"

CHAPTER XXIV.

FRENCH ENTRY INTO BERLIN—CLEMENCY OF NAPOLEON—BERLIN DECREE FOR THE BLOCKADE OF THE BRITISH ISLES—FALL OF STETTIN, CUSTRIN, LUBECK—SUSPENSION OF ARMS—LEVY OF EIGHTY THOUSAND MEN—POLISH ADDRESSES—PROCLAMATION OF POSEN—DECREE. 1806.

LITTLE more than a month after quitting Paris, and only sixteen days from the commencement of the campaign, namely on the 27th of October, 1806, Napoleon entered Berlin, in triumph, by the magnificent gate of Charlottenburg. He was on horseback, accompanied by the Prince of Neufchâtel, Marshals Davoust and Augereau, and the brave Duroc, Grand-Marshal of the Palace. The Imperial Guard, and the corps of Davoust, which had wrought such miracles at Auerstadt, had been selected to form the escort upon this proud occasion. The whole population of the capital seemed to be

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assembled in the streets and at the windows, and expressed their grief at the disgrace of their country by profound silence; and, in some instances, by tears. It was no liberating army entering their territory, as had been the case with the Italians, in the early campaigns of the victor, to free the people from the hated yoke of a foreigner; but the conqueror of their native land, the invader of their hearths and halls, who, having stripped them of the glory won in former years, was taking possession of their homes; to impose upon them perhaps new laws, new taxes, and new masters. The Emperor alighted at the King's palace, where the keys of the city were presented to him by General Hullin, the commandant of the garrison, who took occasion to crave the clemency of his Majesty towards the inhabitants.

One of the first acts of Napoleon was to form a municipal corps of sixty members, who were directed to select two thousand of the richest burgesses to assist them in maintaining due order and discipline in Berlin. The municipal guard was also reorganized; and Prince Hatzfeld, who accepted the civil government of the capital, in the name of the French Sovereign, was placed at its head. This Prince, it appears, was desirous of ingratiating himself with Napoleon; not so much with a view to procure moderation for his fellow-citizens, as to act as a spy on behalf of the King of Prussia and the Russians. He must, however, have known very little of the man he dealt with, if he hoped to overmaster him by strategy, at a time when recourse to such means might be reasonably expected.

It was among the first measures of the Emperor to place the Post-office under the direction of his well-trained police, by whom almost all letters passing to and from Berlin were examined, and re-sealed with such care and skill that no suspicion was excited of their having ever been opened. By these means an envelope addressed to the Postmaster, containing a letter for Frederick William, fell into the hands of the French. It contained a detailed account of all that had occurred in Berlin since the departure of the King, a minute description of the French force, with its number, condition, and the situation of every corps, and was signed by Prince Hatzfeld. This document was immediately laid before Napoleon, who ordered that the culprit should be arrested and brought before a military commission for trial. The arrest took place, and the court was summoned

PRINCESS OF HATZFELD.

the next day; but the Emperor, meanwhile, who had not returned the paper which constituted the only evidence against the Prince, had that morning gone to a distance from Berlin to review one of the divisions of his army. The trial was, therefore, necessarily adjourned till the letter could be procured.

The Princess of Hatzfeld, on learning that her husband had been arrested, hastened to Duroc, with whom she had become acquainted during his former visits to Berlin, to complain of the treatment the Prince had experienced. The Grand Marshal knew nothing of the business, but on sending for Savary learned that Hatzfeld's life was in danger. Duroc resolved to procure the Princess an audience of the Emperor, as the only means of saving her husband. Napoleon at his return, met the Marshal on the grand staircase; and, surprised to find him within at that hour, enquired if anything new had occurred. "Yes, Sire," replied Duroc; and followed him into his cabinet, soliciting permission to introduce a suppliant. Napoleon was seldom inaccessible by his own wish or consent. The Princess was introduced; and being ignorant of the cause of her husband's arrest, she threw herself at the Conqueror's feet, and demanded justice upon those whom she supposed to have wronged him by calumnious reports. The Emperor, when she had finished, handed to her the traitorous letter which had been written by the Prince, saying, "You know the writing of your husband; judge yourself, if it be calumny." She glanced over the contents hastily, and bursting into a flood of tears, replied, with the ingenuousness of perfect innocence and simplicity, "It is but too surely his writing!" Her accent went to Napoleon's soul; her situation—she was far advanced towards maternity—grieved him exceedingly; yet he was unwilling to interfere with the course of justice in behalf of one who had so little right to expect mercy. After a few moments' struggle between his feelings and his judgment, he turned to the Princess, who still retained possession of her husband's letter, and said, "Well, Madam, that paper is the sole evidence of the Prince's guilt: throw it into the fire, and I shall have no means of condemning him." The Princess retired quite happy; and those who best knew the Emperor, affirm that he was equally so. An interesting letter, written by Napoleon to Josephine about this time, has been preserved, in reply to one in which

LETTER TO JOSEPHINE.

the Empress reproved him for the language of one of his bulletins, concerning the character of the young and beautiful Queen of Prussia. "You seem grieved that I should think ill of women," said the Emperor; "it is true that I have no sympathy for intriguing females. I have been accustomed to those who are amiable, gentle, and conciliating, and such I love. If they have spoiled me, it is not my fault, but thine. Thou wilt be pleased, nevertheless, to learn that I have been kind to one who exhibited goodness and feeling—Madame Hatzfeld, whose husband is restored to liberty and tranquillity. Two hours later, and he would have been lost. Thou seest, then, that I esteem women who are gentle, ingenuous, and amiable; but it is because they alone resemble thee."

It was during the Emperor's residence at Berlin, that the famous Decree for the Blockade of the British Isles was first published. This proceeding, which was intended to destroy the commerce, and by terminating the prosperity eventually to crush the power, of England, but which, in operation, recoiled upon Napoleon, and accelerated, if

BERLIN DECREE.

it did not produce, his overthrow, was dated on the 21st of November, 1806. After setting forth,—That England would not consent to regulate naval warfare by the laws and amenities which were established on land, but had introduced new customs into her maritime code, and revived those of a barbarous age; that she refused to recognise the distinction of private property, and the rights of foreigners not serving in war, but seized on merchant vessels and made their crews prisoners, as if they had been armed and sent out by their respective governments against an enemy; and that the British declaration of blockade extended to places not actually blockaded,—thus extending the evils of war to peaceful and unarmed citizens,—the British isles were declared by the Decree to be in a state of blockade. All commerce and correspondence with them were strictly prohibited. All English subjects found in countries occupied by the troops of France were declared to be prisoners of war. All merchandise or property of any kind belonging to British owners, and all articles of British manufacture, or the produce of British colonies, were declared to be lawful prize. Half of the proceeds of all confiscations were to be applied to the relief of those merchants whose ships had been captured by English cruisers. No vessel from England or the English colonies was to be admitted into a continental port, but every one entering a foreign harbour was to be seized and forfeited. Two prize-courts were to be established; one at Paris for the French Empire, and the other at Milan for the Kingdom of Italy.

The system thus established, had, there is no doubt, been for some time in contemplation, but Napoleon had not deemed the time favourable for its promulgation till he was master of nearly all the line of coast round Europe. We have no means of ascertaining how far it had been contemplated that such a measure, as to the immediate effect desired, was practicable or otherwise, except by the means used to bring it into operation, and upon these we must form our estimate of its policy. The habits of two or three centuries of unrestricted commerce had placed many of the articles sought to be prohibited among the absolute necessities of life; to dispense with which would have occasioned great and universal distress and inconvenience. It was, therefore, a proclamation of war with the feelings, tastes, and

BERLIN DECREE.

wishes of mankind ; an attempt to force civilization backward for three centuries, which the most tyrannic and absolute power could not have succeeded in effecting. One blow in one place was useless. To exclude commerce it required a constant tension of watchful energy on every point of the Continent, not only at the known ports and harbours, but at every creek, cove, and inlet, by which the shores of the ocean were indented. "The attempt," says Sir Walter Scott, "resembles that of a child, who tries to stop with his hand the stream of an artificial fountain, which escapes, in a hundred partial jets from under his palm and between his fingers. The Genius of Commerce, like a second Proteus, assumed every variety of shape, in order to elude the Imperial interdiction, and all manner of evasions were practised for that purpose. False papers, false certificates, false bills of lading, were devised ; and these frauds were overlooked in the sea-ports by the very agents of the police and custom-house officers to whom the execution of the decree was committed." Two or three instances will shew the futility of the system as effectively as a volume.

Less than a week after the publication of the Decree, Napoleon, being about to advance into Poland, sent to his Minister at Hamburg for a supply of sixty-six thousand cloth great-coats, and thirty-seven thousand vests—an order which it was impossible to execute without infringing the new law ; there being no manufactories of coarse cloth in Hamburg or the neighbouring territories, and the importation of woollen stuffs being prohibited. The Minister was, therefore, compelled to authorize the merchants to evade the edict, and procure the goods illegally. Another order arrived for two hundred and forty thousand pairs of shoes ; but tanned and curried hides were among the forbidden articles of commerce, and all Germany could not at the time have supplied the requisite materials from its home resources. Napoleon smiled when informed that he was the first to occasion an infraction of his own system ; but he allowed no punctilious scruple to prevent his troops from being comfortably clothed and shod. It would have increased the absurdity of his restrictive laws, had they been enforced to his own actual injury. Perhaps, indeed, Napoleon looked beyond the passing moment for the full effect of his system ; and if we give him credit for this there will appear somewhat more of foresight, and a broader policy than has usually been ascribed to it, in

BERLIN DECREE.

the celebrated blockade of Britain. He evidently proceeded upon the consideration that England owed her wealth and power to her colonial produce and manufactures, with which she supplied the Continent at a cheaper rate than they could be otherwise procured. By increasing the difficulties of their introduction, and consequently their price, so as to induce the Continent to manufacture for itself, there was good reason to suppose that he would be able to sap the power of England, and render the Continent more independent of the proud islanders, by throwing the States in alliance with France upon their own resources. By those who have thus viewed the subject, it has been questioned, whether Napoleon's Continental system has even yet been finally developed: but these reasoners appear not to have taken into account the great accession of means which England has subsequently obtained by the use of the steam-engine, and her internal resources of coal and iron, for maintaining commercial pre-eminence.

Even while the Decree was being brought into operation, it excited the greatest dissatisfaction throughout Europe; and, according to De Bourrienne, created for the Emperor more enemies than if he had hurled twenty kings from their thrones. Every individual suffered in comfort and in fortune. The produce of England could not be excluded from foreign consumption, but its cost was frequently doubled, and even trebled; and the odious fiscal regulations, which were everywhere established, fostered a spirit of discontent, which, gathering strength with time, at last burst out against Napoleon with an enthusiasm almost equal to that which so generally displayed itself upon the news of the first French Revolution. In the meantime, the commercial towns of France, Holland, and Germany suffered severely from repeated confiscations: the greatest mercantile houses became bankrupt; the fair dealer found himself reduced to poverty; while the reckless contraband adventurer acquired new motives for daring, in the certainty that a large fortune would reward success, and that every obstacle would be thrown in the way of executing the laws against him even by the authorities who were directed to enforce them.

During these proceedings against England, which Napoleon considered as the originator of the war, his marshals and generals were pursuing the advantages gained at Jena and Auerstadt, over the

BLUCHER.

Prussian army. On the 29th of October, the fortress of Stettin surrendered to Lasalle, who commanded the right of Murat's division. Custrin opened its gates, on the 2nd of November, to Marshal Davoust. Magdeburg capitulated, on the 8th, to Ney. Spandau, Hamelen, and a number of other fortresses, which ought to have retarded the advance of an army for months, opened their gates at the first sound of the French trumpets, or the explosion of two or three bombs. The high courage of Prussia was destroyed, and the very name of Napoleon was sufficient to put her soldiers to flight, and to fill the breasts of her people with dismay. One man alone among the generals, formed under the Great Frederick, was worthy of the school in which he had studied, and of the name of a brave soldier—the heroic and patriotic General Blucher, who, after separating from Prince Hohenlohe, traversed the country for some days with his corps unbroken; but being pressed hard by Soult, Murat, and Bernadotte, he was at length compelled to throw himself into Lubeck; where, on the 6th of November, a furious battle was fought in the streets,

but with such inequality of numbers on the side of the Prussians, that the French, after a few hours' fighting, remained undisturbed masters of the city. Blucher, at the head of a large body of troops, fought his way gallantly through the ranks of the enemy, and retreated

FLIGHT OF FREDERICK WILLIAM.

towards Schwerta; but, being without ammunition, provisions, or artillery, he there drew up his faithful followers on the 7th, and, with the Duke of Brunswick-Oels, ten generals, five hundred and eighteen officers, and more than twenty thousand men, laid down his arms, and surrendered. The conduct of Blucher in this brief struggle first fixed upon him the attention of Europe, as the last hope of dispirited Germany.

The rapid and entire subjugation of Prussia in so brief a space, and the little effort made by the people themselves, though almost all trained to arms, to resist the invaders, may be ascribed to the peculiar constitution of the Prussian monarchy, the various provinces of which were unconnected by olden affections and sympathies, having been recently bound together by the violence of conquest, or the barter and intrigue of diplomacy, without renouncing their ancient habits, customs, laws, and usages. The kingdom had been too recently formed to have any common bond of union; and, finding that the spirit and genius of Frederick the Great had departed from his race, the people, who prided themselves on military renown, would probably have preferred that their sovereign should be a victorious Bonaparte rather than a vanquished member of the house of Brandenburg. Their relation to Frederick William was that of servants to a master, not that of loyal subjects to a paternal prince; and it mattered little, therefore, under whose sway their country passed, so long as their homes were untouched and their resources were undiminished. From other powers the Court of Prussia could scarcely expect commiseration, considering what had been its own conduct with respect to Austria and Hanover. Not even honour remained to cheer the Monarch who had been recently deemed the legitimate inheritor of one of the proudest names of modern times, now that reverses had wrested from him his sceptre, and dashed his throne to the earth.

The fugitive King of Prussia fled to Königsberg, one of the few fortresses which still acknowledged his authority, whence he despatched the Marquis Lucchesini to Berlin, to solicit an armistice, the conditions of which were signed, on the 10th of November, at Charlottenburg, and published amid great rejoicings on the part of the Prussian nobility and gentry who had remained in the capital,

DEPUTATION FROM PARIS.

and to whom it seemed a presage of returning peace. The negotiations, however, were shortly afterwards broken off, in consequence of the advance of the Russians, from which it became evident that Frederick William merely sought to gain time while Alexander was marching to his aid — a trick which was not likely to impose upon Napoleon; and the attempt to practise which was calculated to throw suspicion upon all after-transactions between France and Prussia.

Napoleon, meanwhile, received at Berlin a deputation from the French Senate, to congratulate him on his successes, and urge that he would, if possible, seek to procure peace for the Empire and for Europe; and at the same time to express the profoundest apprehension for his Majesty's safety should he attempt to cross the Oder. The Emperor was not prepared for this interference with his plans, and he did not conceal his vexation. He told the deputation that, before they recommended a course for adoption, the Senators should at least have enquired on which side the obstacles to peace lay, assuring them that he had no end to serve but that of securing the safety, and promoting the welfare of the empire, and of maintaining the national honour. Prussia, he said, had desired war, and her English and Russian Allies would not yet allow her to abandon the enterprise in which she had embarked. On dismissing the Deputies, the Emperor made them the bearers of a message, announcing to the Legislative bodies the Berlin Decree against England, and confided to them the

ADDRESS TO THE ARMY.

trophies taken during the campaign, consisting of two hundred and eighty stand of colours, the relics taken from Potsdam, and a number of the finest paintings and works of art which had decorated the galleries and museums of Berlin. He also, through them, demanded of the Senate a levy of eighty thousand men, to enable him to carry into effect the blockade of England, to maintain his conquests in Prussia, and advance to meet and overthrow the Russians, who seemed burning with impatience to wash out the disgrace their arms had already sustained in Germany, on the day of Austerlitz.

About the middle of November, the Emperor, from his headquarters at Charlottenburg, published the following proclamation to the army: "Soldiers! You have justified my hopes, and the confidence of the French people. You have endured privations and fatigues with a fortitude equal to your intrepidity and steadiness in the conflict. You are worthy to be the defenders of my crown and of the glory of the Great Nation. While you continue to be animated by this spirit, nothing will be able to resist you. Behold the result of your toils! One of the first powers of Europe, which, in its delirium, lately dared to threaten us, is annihilated. The forests and defiles of Franconia, the Saale, the Elbe, which our sires would not have traversed in seven years, have been crossed by us in seven days, during which we fought seven minor engagements and one great battle. We were preceded in Potsdam and Berlin by the fame of our victories; yet more than half of you complain of not having fired a single shot.

"All the provinces of Prussia, as far as the Oder, are in our power. Soldiers! The Russians vaunt that they are on the road to meet us. We will march to encounter them, and thus spare them half their journey. In the midst of Prussia they shall find another Austerlitz. A nation which has so speedily forgotten our generosity to her after that battle in which her Emperor, her court, and the wreck of her army, were indebted for their safety to our forbearance, is one which cannot successfully contend against us.

"In the meantime, while we march against the Russians, new armies organized in the interior of France approach to occupy our place and guard our conquests. My people have arisen as one man, indignant at the terms which the Prussian Court had dared to propose

WINTER CAMPAIGNS.

to us. Our highways and frontier cities are filled with conscripts ardently longing to follow our steps. We will not again be the sport of a treacherous peace, nor lay aside our arms till we have forced the English, those eternal enemies of our country, to renounce their design of troubling the Continent, and their tyranny of the seas."

These were not intended as empty threats. Although the depth of winter approached, Napoleon was determined to commence a new campaign in the North, with as little delay as possible; and accordingly ordered Davoust to advance towards the frontiers of Poland. He could not comprehend the tactics of those fair-weather generals, who in olden times used to bring their troops into the field during the first fine days of spring, and with the earliest blasts of autumn retire again to winter-quarters, with a regularity, conceded to on the part of their opponents, which gave occasion for war to be considered a matter of routine, the details of which might be learned like those of a piece of mechanism of which the capabilities had been ascertained and settled, beyond the chance of improvement, save in a few manœuvres which might be added by the experience of years. It was General Pichegru who, during the campaign in Holland, had first set the example of disregarding the calendar; and Napoleon, in Italy, had been as fortunate as he in the splendid victories which, "contrary to all the rules," he had obtained over the Austrians, at a time, when, according to immemorial usage, friend and foe should have been reposing in quiet winter-quarters. In a colder climate, and under less favourable circumstances, the battle of Austerlitz had shewn that war might be made to confer as much glory, and to produce as important results, amid the frosts of winter as beneath the warm suns and unclouded skies of June or August; and Napoleon was not the man to regard the mere chivalry or romance of war as possessing the least weight in opposition to the objects for which the field was taken. He looked but to the one purpose in hand; and while he had men capable of following him, and of obeying his commands, it was of small importance whether his destiny led him over the burning sands of the East, or through the immeasurable snows of the wild and trackless North. His own genius and activity seemed to disdain the checks of climate; and he had the power beyond all generals, perhaps, ancient or modern, of infusing into his

POLAND.

followers a portion of his own enthusiastic energy, and contempt of common obstacles.

The march of the Russians rendered it necessary that the war should be forthwith carried beyond the Vistula, in order that the French troops might winter in the capital of Poland. The army accordingly pushed forward; and had already reached Posen when, on the 25th of November, Napoleon quitted Berlin. On the 28th, the Emperor arrived at head-quarters; and the same day, Murat, who led the vanguard, and whose ardent passion for military renown surpassed that of all his comrades, entered Warsaw. The Poles hailed their invaders with songs of joy, and poured forth addresses from every town and village, in which the French were styled Liberators, and the Emperor exalted into a divinity. The national dress was generally resumed, and volunteers flocked to the standards of France, animated by the hope that the hour of revenge and of independence approached. Napoleon was almost besieged with deputations petitioning him to espouse the cause of Poland, and redress her wrongs. "The Polish nation," said Count Radyiminski, the Palatine of Gnesna, "presents itself before your Majesty, still groaning under the German yoke, and hails, with purest joy, the regenerator of its beloved country, the Legislator of the Universe. Full of submission to your will, the people offer you their homage, and repose on you, with confidence, all their hopes, as upon Him who has the power to raise and destroy empires and to humble the proud." The address of the President of the Judicial Council of the Polish Regency was equally oriental in its style and conception. "Already," it said, "we see our dear country saved, for in your person we revere the most just and profound Solon; and committing our fate and hopes into your hands, we implore the powerful protection of the most august Cæsar." Napoleon was deeply affected by the numerous instances of patriotic enthusiasm which he daily witnessed, but his situation at the moment was one of no ordinary difficulty. If he announced himself at once as the emancipator of Poland, in addition to Russia and Prussia he foresaw that he should have to maintain a fierce struggle with Austria, who lay ready to rise in his rear; and Russia would urge the war with double vigour if she had an important personal stake in the issue, instead of fighting merely as the ally of

POLAND.

Prussia. "I love the Poles," said the Emperor to his aide-de-camp, Rapp; "their ardour is worthy of their cause. I would willingly constitute them a free people, but this would be a difficult achievement. Too many states have profited by the iniquitous partition of their country: Austria, Russia, Prussia, are equally interested. Were I to fire the train, it is impossible to tell where the conflagration might stop. My first duty is to France, and I must not sacrifice her to Poland. No—we must defer to the arbiter of all things—Time; which ere long will shew what we ought to do."

The Emperor abstained, therefore, from making any express declaration of his intentions. His sentiments being generally known, however, the Poles continued to recruit his forces, and to hail him as the Saviour of their land. Dombrowski and Wibichi, two Polish officers serving in the French armies, particularly distinguished themselves by their efforts to rouse their countrymen. One of the addresses which they issued from the camp of the Grand Army ran as follows. "Poles! Napoleon the Great, the Invincible, enters Poland with an army of three hundred thousand men. Without seeking to fathom his views, let us strive to merit his magnanimity. 'I will see,' he has said to us, 'whether you deserve to be a Nation.' Poles! It depends on ourselves to exert a national spirit and possess a country. Your avenger, your restorer, is at hand. Crowd from all quarters to his presence, as afflicted children hasten to behold a succouring parent. Present to him your hearts, your arms. Rise as one man, and prove that you seek not to spare your blood when your country requires it."

In the meantime, the French had invested the last remaining fortresses of the Prussian monarchy, and overrun the provinces east of the Oder. The Russians, under General Beningsen, having advanced as far as Warsaw, on learning that Murat was in the neighbourhood, hastily retreated, and recrossed the Vistula, leaving the capital to be occupied by the troops of Napoleon; which, having been recently subjected to the most inclement weather, marching frequently in roads knee-deep with mud and water, and suffering severely for want of provisions and shelter, were glad to get into comfortable quarters. It was not the Emperor's intention, however, that they should remain inactive; a fact which was communicated to

PROCLAMATION.

the army, on the morning of the 2nd of December, by the following proclamation :—“ Soldiers! On this day twelve-months, at this very hour, you were upon the battle-field of Austerlitz. The terror-stricken battalions of Russia were flying in disorder, or, being surrounded, yielded their arms to their victors. On the morrow, they proffered words of peace, but these were deceitful; for scarcely had they escaped, through a generosity which was probably blameable, from the disasters of the third coalition, than they organized a fourth. But the Ally, upon whose co-operation they founded their principal hopes, is already no more. His fortresses, capital, magazines, arsenals, two hundred and eighty standards, seven hundred field-pieces, and five fortified cities, are in our possession. The Oder, the Wartha, the deserts of Poland, the rigours of the season, have not been sufficient to arrest your course for a moment. You have braved and surmounted all. Every foe has fled on your approach. In vain have the Russians endeavoured to defend the capital of ancient and renowned Poland. The eagle of France soars over the Vistula. The brave and unfortunate Pole, on seeing you, deems that he beholds the legions of Sobieski returning from their memorable expedition.

“ Soldiers! We will not sheath our swords until a general peace has established and secured the power of our Allies, and restored to our commerce its freedom and colonies. On the Elbe and the Oder, we have reconquered Pondicherry, our establishments in India, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. What can give to the Russians the right of holding the balance of destiny, or of interfering with our just designs? They and we are still the soldiers of Austerlitz!”

This proclamation produced the greatest sensation not only throughout the army, but in every city and town in Germany where copies were profusely distributed. Of the French troops, “the divisions stationed in the rear,” says De Bourrienne, “burned to traverse by forced marches the space which separated them from head-quarters; while those near the Emperor forgot their fatigues, their sorrows, and privations, and begged earnestly to be led to the conflict. They recalled the battles in which they had borne a share, marched on cheerfully, though without shoes, passed the long hours without food or shelter, and without complaint.” The effect of Napoleon’s

DECREE.

stirring addresses indeed was to produce, among his soldiers, a species of fanaticism; and though it may be fairly presumed that they did not always comprehend what was addressed to them,—for instance, how Pondicherry and the Cape of Good Hope had been regained on the Oder,—it seemed sufficient that the Emperor, who seldom used words without meaning, had asserted such to be the fact, and attributed the result to the gallant exploits of his followers.

Before entering upon the new campaign, Napoleon wished, by a splendid monument, to commemorate the deeds which had been performed during the two last wars. Accordingly, the proclamation of the 2nd of December was followed, on the same day, by the publication of a decree, containing the following ordinances:—“There shall be established on the site of the Madeleine, at Paris, at the charge of the Imperial treasury, a monument, dedicated to the Grand Army, bearing in front the inscription,—

“THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE GRAND ARMY.

“In the interior of the monument, on marble tablets, shall be inscribed the names of all the men, according to their several corps and regiments, who assisted at the capture of Ulm, and in the battles of Austerlitz and Jena: on tables of massive gold shall be recorded the names of all who fell in battle; and on tables of silver shall be engraven a recapitulation, for the departments, of the soldiers furnished by each to the Grand Army.

“Around the hall shall be sculptured, in bas-relief, representations of the colonels of each regiment, with their names and designations; and the interior shall constitute a sacred depository for the trophies taken from the enemy during the two campaigns.”

It was also, at the same time, ordained that the anniversaries of the battles of Austerlitz and Jena should be solemnly celebrated as national fêtes throughout France.

The Emperor has been accused of indulging a childish passion for display in the erection of such monuments; but this is not borne out on reference to his own views and sentiments. It was part of his policy to adorn the city which he had often expressed a desire to render the capital of the world; and he considered, also, that the public monuments of a nation constitute an important part of its

PUBLIC MONUMENTS.

history. A victory, a conquest, a peace, was deemed incomplete while it wanted a fitting memorial for posterity. The imagination of Napoleon always kindled at the thought of future ages. "Fame," he said, "is but a sound: but it is audible in many lands, and from generation to generation. Laws, institutions, nations themselves perish; but the echoes of fame are prolonged for ever." But while, by means of the arts, he sought to extend his living reputation, and to consecrate his memory, his acts afford the best proof that his mind was not wholly engrossed by the desire of self-glorification.

CHAPTER XXV.

CAMPAIGN IN POLAND — NAPOLEON AT WARSAW — PULTUSK — BRESLAU —
EYLAU — FALL OF DANTZIC — DEPPEN — FRIEDLAND — EVACUATION OF
KÖNIGSBERG — ARMISTICE OF TILSIT — PEACE — THE ELECTOR OF SAXONY
AND JEROME BONAPARTE KINGS. 1806—1807.

LEARNING, at Posen, that the Russian General Beningsen had retired behind the Wkra, merely to await for reinforcements, orders were given for the immediate advance of the troops to attack the enemy, ere his expected succours could arrive. It was of the utmost importance, that the movements of the Russian should be anticipated, and their designs frustrated, before their numerous forces could be concentrated to enable them to penetrate into Germany, where it was more than probable that they would have found a welcome reception

PASSAGE OF THE VISTULA.

from both Prussia and Austria. The latter power, indeed, jealous of its Polish possessions, and bearing no good will to the Conqueror of Italy and Vienna, had been for some time organizing a strong army in its provinces, under the designation of a Corps of Observation ; but intended, as was understood by every one, to take advantage of the first favourable moment to declare war against France. Napoleon had generally good intelligence on all subjects of which it concerned him to be informed. The dispositions and policy of Austria, added to certain indications of a meditated rising in Prussia, were not likely to escape his eagle eye. At the same time, the King of Sweden, upon whom disaster and humiliation seemed to have had no effect in teaching wisdom or prudence, had, in the spirit of his former Quixotism, declared war against France. Danger and difficulty seemed to be thickening around the Emperor, who soon found that he had a more complicated game to play than any in which he had been engaged, since his name was first inscribed on the list of monarchs. His courage and genius, however, seemed to rise under circumstances which to others would have appeared most hopeless ; and new resources were almost invariably suggested to him by the very exigencies which might have been expected to paralyse his exertions. Feeling that it was necessary for him to act with precaution, as well as with vigour, he resolved, if possible, to amuse Austria with the most friendly demonstrations, and keep her undecided till his object was attained, in the same way as he had prevented the hostility of Prussia during the campaign of Austerlitz ; while, by forcing the Russians into premature engagements, he hoped to destroy them in detail, at times and in places selected by himself—a result which he knew would have the effect of putting an end to all minor differences.

In pursuance of his orders, Ney reached the Vistula, opposite Thorn, on the 6th of December, and found a body of Prussians stationed there to oppose his passage. Impatient to cross, however, he at once embarked his advanced guard in the face of the enemy ; but the boats which conveyed them were obstructed by the ice in the middle of the stream, and were consequently exposed to a heavy fire from the opposite bank. The Polish boatmen, perceiving the danger of the French soldiers, rushed into the stream to extricate them ; upon which the Prussians despatched other boatmen to oppose the Poles.

ALLIANCE WITH SAXONY.

A fierce struggle ensued, and, in the end, the Prussians were thrown into the water, and the brave Poles conducted safe to shore the advanced guard of what they then deemed the liberating troops of Napoleon. The Prussians were speedily dispersed, and in two or three days the whole army found itself upon the right bank of the Vistula.

On the 11th, Davoust, after passing the Bug, defeated a Russian corps, which attempted to arrest his march; and on the same day, Napoleon, at Posen, concluded a treaty of peace with the Elector of Saxony, who having satisfactorily explained his conduct during the last campaign, was admitted a member of the Confederation of the Rhine. This was an accession of the utmost importance to the French, for besides the moral influence which it secured—the Elector from his age and character being the most venerated prince in Germany—the Saxons agreed to furnish a contingent of twenty thousand men and a great number of horses, which, at that time, were much needed in the Grand Army.

The Emperor quitted Posen on the 16th, and entered Warsaw on the 18th of December, where he continued to receive innumerable solicitations from the princes and nobility of the land to re-establish the throne of Poland, and restore to that ancient and chivalrous kingdom its former independence. By his replies it was evident

RUSSIAN GENERALS.

that Napoleon was greatly perplexed what course to pursue; the necessities of his position, however, overruled his inclination, and he was compelled to abide by his first resolution—to submit to events. In the meantime, several regiments of Polish soldiers were added to the French army, an acquisition of considerable value as regarded their numbers and bravery, but still more so from their being intimately acquainted with the country, and the predatory mode of warfare of the various barbarous tribes which composed the greatest portion of the Russian army.

The troops of the Czar had been placed under the command of Kaminski, a contemporary of Suwarrow, a brave and skilful officer, but one who relied more on theoretical than practical knowledge. This general had ordered the divisions of Beningsen and Buxhowden to advance to the frontiers of Prussia, and, had his commands been executed in time, Napoleon would have been compelled to retire behind the Oder, or to quarter in the sterile region between that river and the Vistula, with a prospect of being deprived of provisions, and having his communications constantly interrupted by roving bands of Cossacks, who receiving no pay for their services were compelled to subsist upon plunder, acquired by incursions resembling those of

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NAPOLÉON AT WARSAW.

freebooters. On finding that Beningsen had retreated, Kaminski hastened forward to sustain him, and being joined by Buxhowden, they deemed their army an equal match for that of Napoleon. So confident were they, indeed, of approaching victory, that at the castle of Siérock they celebrated their junction with fêtes and illuminations, the light of which the French were enabled to perceive from the towers of Warsaw.

Napoleon remained in the Polish capital till near Christmas, making the necessary arrangements for prosecuting the campaign, for provisioning the army, and taking advantage of whatever circumstances might be rendered favourable to himself. At the same time also, the government of France occupied much of his attention. Despatches arrived almost daily, bringing the portfolios of the several ministers with nearly as much regularity as if they had merely been forwarded to the Tuileries. The administration was always at headquarters, and public affairs were as rigidly scrutinized as if they formed the sole business of the time. On the 23rd of December, the Emperor quitted Warsaw, and immediately afterwards passed the Bug, on a bridge which he directed to be thrown over the river.

PULTUSK.

The corps of Davoust then attacked a Russian division at Czarnovo, and after an obstinately contested engagement, which was prolonged till past midnight, General Petit, by the light of the moon, carried some redoubts which had been thrown up by the enemy, and, about two in the morning, succeeded in effecting the complete rout of the Russians.

Kaminski, seeing that his present position was untenable, now directed the retreat of his army behind the Niemen. Beningsen, accordingly, fell back to Pultusk, Prince Galitzin to Golymin, and Buxhowden and D'Anrep sought for safety in other directions, each sustaining heavy losses in his march from the French skirmishers; who were only prevented from effecting the complete disorganization of the enemy by the difficulties presented in a country covered with woods and intersected by ravines, and the roads of which were filled with mud, to the depth of three or four feet, from a recent thaw. On the 25th of December, the corps of Beningsen occupied a strong position behind Pultusk; where, notwithstanding Kaminski's orders to retreat at all hazards, the General resolved to await the advance of the French and give battle. On the morning of the 26th, he was attacked by the divisions of Lannes and Davoust, and that of the Imperial Guard. After some skirmishing, the French made a determined effort to overwhelm the Russians by turning their right wing; the charge for which purpose was so impetuous that Barclay de Tolly was compelled to fall back on his reserves, and the French became masters of a wood, which had supported the enemy's right, together with several guns stationed there. Beningsen was not dismayed, however, but ordering Tolly to continue his retreat, he suffered the French to advance in pursuit till the cavalry which had covered the manœuvre being suddenly withdrawn, a battery of a hundred and twenty guns, extending along the whole Russian front, opened a tremendous fire on the advancing columns. The enemy's line now advanced in turn; and, recovering the ground from which they had been driven, threatened to drive the French from their position. Night put an end to the combat; in which, it is said, the Russians lost nearly eight thousand men in killed and wounded, and the French about an equal number—one of the wounded, among the latter, being Marshal Lannes himself. The effect of this action was

CAPTURE OF BRESLAU.

to raise the spirits of the Russians soldiers to an extravagant pitch of enthusiasm, it being the first effectual check they had been able to offer to the French arms. Beningsen, however, was unable to keep his ground; but, uniting his corps with that of Galitzin, which had been unsuccessfully engaged on the same day at Golymin, retreated precipitately to Ostrolenka. The courage and skill displayed by Beningsen at Pultusk, procured for him the chief command of the Russian army—Kaminski being about this time superseded on a charge of insanity.

Napoleon, from this period, evidently felt that he was engaged with an enemy of higher courage, and greater skill and determination, than any he had recently encountered. Instead, therefore, of pressing the operations which had been commenced, he ordered his troops into winter-quarters, retiring himself with the guard to Warsaw, where he arrived on the 2nd of January, 1807. Here he received the authorities of the city, the foreign Ministers, and a deputation from the Kingdom of Italy; and in order to excite the emulation of the various auxiliary troops which were serving in the Grand Army, he bestowed considerable rewards upon the Wurtemberg soldiers, who had distinguished themselves by their bravery at the capture of Glogau; and at the same time, he sent to the King of Wurtemberg several of the flags taken at that city, and ten decorations of the Legion of Honour, to be distributed among the best soldiers of his army.

On the 5th of January, Breslau capitulated, after having had its suburbs fired by the garrison within the walls. Many women and children perished in the flames. Jerome Bonaparte displayed much goodness of heart and praiseworthy activity on this occasion, in his efforts to save the inhabitants from the conflagration; and the French soldiers, renouncing every consideration that interfered with the duties of humanity, carried assistance to all points where it could be availing, rescuing those who were unable to escape, and cheerfully encountering every danger to lessen the horrors of a scene to which the licence of war was comparatively trifling. It was an affecting sight to see the besieging troops at their bivouacs, sharing their rations with the sufferers who were rendered houseless by this terrible calamity.

During Napoleon's residence at Warsaw, he received intelligence

TURKISH REVOLUTION.

of a revolution in Constantinople, in which the Sultan Selim had been assassinated, and Mahmoud raised to the Moslem throne: a change which was highly advantageous to France, inasmuch as the new Sovereign was an admirer of the military genius of Napoleon, and inclined to cultivate his friendship and alliance. Taking advantage of this disposition in favour of his master, and of the encroachments of the Russians upon the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, General Sebastiani, the French Ambassador to the Porte, obtained a declaration of war against the Moscovites, and thus created a diversion of the enemy's forces towards the banks of the Danube. About the same time, also, some hostile demonstrations on the part of Persia served to embarrass the councils of the Czar, and to make him desirous of putting a speedy termination to the hostilities in which he was at present engaged. Before departing from Warsaw, the Emperor received the following singular petition from an aged Pole: "Sire, The register of my baptism is dated in the year 1690, I am now, therefore, a hundred and seventeen years old. I remember

NAROCKI.

the battle of Vienna and the times of John Sobeiski; times that I had not hoped to see again, much less to have witnessed a revival of the days of Alexander. My extreme age has procured me the kindness of all the Sovereigns who have been here, and I implore the same from the Great Napoleon, since, having outlived the common span, I am no longer able to work. May you live, Sire, as long as I have lived; not that your glory needs it, but that the happiness of the human race demands it.—NAROCKI."

The Emperor, to whom the old man presented the petition in person, was greatly impressed with his venerable figure and request; and granted him a pension of a hundred napoleons, the first yearly payment of which was ordered to be made in advance.

Beningsen, now invested with the supreme command, and finding

CONDITION OF THE RUSSIANS.

that he had at his disposal about a hundred thousand men, determined to attack the French in their cantonments, concluding, from the Emperor's retirement after the battle of Pultusk, that the ardour of the French troops was diminished, and that the moment was favourable for assuming the offensive. Napoleon, however, no sooner perceived that the enemy had commenced operations, than he took the field, purposing to concentrate his army at Willenberg, in the rear of the great Russian camp at Mohringen, and between the enemy and his resources; intending to attract him by a false manœuvre towards the Vistula, and turn his line, in the way which had proved so fatal to the Austrians at Ulm, and to the Prussians at Jena. A despatch, however, which had been sent to Bernadotte, directing him and Ney to engage the attention of the army of Beningsen in front, while Murat and Soult advanced in its rear, was intercepted by a band of Cossacks, and the design of the French being thus disclosed, the Russian General became alarmed, and instantly changed his plan of operations, counter-marched his army, and involved Napoleon in a series of manœuvres, the execution of which imposed the utmost hardship upon his troops. The state of the country and climate, indeed, was such, that even the Russians, inured as they were to the intense cold of Northern latitudes and to the most miserable fare, were reduced to a state of savage phrenzy by the privations of the long marches they had to undergo. Their only resource for provisions was to prowl about in the vicinity of the towns and villages, and dig for the scanty stores which the Poles had concealed, or for frozen roots and vegetables which were hidden by the deep snow. Their only bed was the frost-bound earth, and their clothing was scanty and ragged. At length, unable to endure the tortures of the campaign, they vehemently demanded that Beningsen would lead them to battle, or turn their march homewards—an alternative in which, although contrary to his own judgment, the General yielded to the former demand, as that which involved the least evil, by preventing the desertion of his soldiers. Accordingly, after having retreated with great loss through Bergfried, Waterdorf, Deppen, and Landsberg, the Russians, closely pursued by the French, arrived on the 6th of February at the town of Preuss-Eylau, where they resolved to try the fortune of a general engagement. A mistake of orders produced a

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premature conflict on the evening of the day on which the two armies reached the chosen field of action. Beningsen had directed that the village should be occupied by a strong guard, but this had been understood to apply merely to the time during which the Russians were passing through, and, consequently, when the last troops had defiled, the division left in possession evacuated the place. The error was no sooner discovered than a Russian corps returned to recover the ground; but the French van was already in possession. A desperate struggle ensued, in which a great number of men were lost on each side, and the village was several times taken and retaken—the Russian General Barclay de Tolly being severely wounded while leading his men to the attack. At night fall, the French remained masters of Preuss-Eylau.

Napoleon himself arrived on the ground during the conflict, and passed the night in making dispositions for the battle which he saw was inevitable on the morrow. The moon shone brilliantly over the snow-covered country, and shewed the Russian lines occupying a space of uneven ground about two miles in length and one in depth; their left resting on the village of Serpallen, their right on a chain of heights extending towards Schloditten on the road to Königsberg, and their centre overlooking the vale in which Preuss-Eylau was situated. The space between the hostile armies was an open hollow, containing several frozen lakes. The French head-quarters were at Eylau; the corps of Davoust was despatched about three leagues to the right, in order to dislodge a Russian column stationed on the Aller, and to get into the enemy's rear; Augereau commanded the left, and the guard and reserves formed two lines behind the village where the centre was stationed.

The battle commenced at daybreak on the 7th, when the Russians, still intent on carrying Preuss-Eylau, charged the French centre with the utmost fury; but after the most frightful carnage on both sides, the assailants were repulsed. The French, in turn, charged in two columns upon separate points of the enemy's line, but they were unable to gain any advantage. About mid-day a violent storm arose, the piercing wind drifting the snow directly in the eyes of the Russian soldiers, so that they could not clearly discern the movements of their opponents; and the obscurity was presently increased by

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dense volumes of smoke from an adjacent village, which had been set on fire. Napoleon, who was on the steeple of the church of Eylau, now ordered Augereau to advance under cover of the darkness, and break the enemy's lines; a manœuvre which had nearly succeeded, as the Russians did not perceive the French troops till the latter were within a few yards of their front. The infantry of the enemy, however, sustained the shock with steady valour, and Beningsen instantly brought up his reserves in person, which, uniting in perfect order with the front line, bore back their antagonists at the point of the bayonet. By a skilfully executed movement, the Russian General contrived to place the corps of Augereau between his right and centre, and a conflict of the most sanguinary character ensued. The dragoons supported by the guard now rushed forward with the utmost impetuosity; but unable to accomplish their purpose at the moment, they traversed the field in every direction, cutting down all who sought to oppose them. It required, indeed, all the vigour of the daring Murat and his cavalry to extricate their comrades from the perilous position in which they stood.

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In the meantime, Davoust and Ney approached. The former, having taken Serpallen and turned the enemy's flank, was enabled to attack in the rear, while Ney advanced at charging pace on their left. The Russian left-wing, and part of the centre, were thus thrown into disorder, and compelled to retreat and change their front, so as to form, almost at right angles, with the rest of the line. The Prussian corps of L'Estocq, a remnant of the battle of Jena, appeared on the field at this crisis, and displayed a gallantry which might have been useful at an earlier period; but Davoust was now gaining ground in the Russian rear; and the village of Schloditten having been captured by the French, Beningsen feared that his communication with Königsberg and his resources would be cut off, and therefore gave orders for retreat. This was about eight at night. It was necessary, however, to regain Schloditten, to enable the retiring army to pass. A desperate assault was, therefore, made on the village, which, in an hour or two, was carried at the point of the bayonet.

The slaughter in this dreadful battle was immense. Sir Walter Scott computes it at fifty thousand men; but this is, probably, somewhat exaggerated. The French accounts give about six thousand as the number killed, and twenty thousand wounded, on the part of the Russians; and on that of the French, three thousand killed and fifteen thousand wounded. The corps of Augereau had suffered severely in the engagement; and of one French regiment of cuirassiers which had been engaged, only eighteen men are said to have remained alive after the action — General d'Hautpoul being among the slain. The Russians, by their coolness, intrepidity, and utter disregard of danger, suffering, and death, had amply redeemed the disgrace they incurred at Austerlitz. Their chief, indeed, as he was not pursued from the field, claimed for them a victory; but, without conceding this, it was doubtless a subject of congratulation, that, being opposed to the Emperor in person, they did not sustain an absolute defeat. The French lost twelve eagles at Eylau; the Russians left behind them their wounded and sixteen pieces of cannon. Napoleon remained master of the well-contested ground, which was literally covered with the bodies of the dead and wounded: but no immediate advantage accrued to either party from this great conflict.

MYLAU.

Napoleon was grieved beyond measure at the havock and misery which he saw around him, and which was greatly increased by the severity of the weather and the desolation of the surrounding country. He remained eight days on the field of battle, contributing all in his power to diminish the calamities of the surviving sufferers of that fatal day, and rendering assistance with as prompt humanity to the

EYLAU.

wounded Russians, as to the disabled of his own army. On the fourth day after the battle, he despatched an officer to the King of Prussia, at Königsberg, to propose an armistice, on terms considerably more favourable than those which had been agreed upon after the battle of Jena; but Eylau had revived the hopes of Frederick William, who accordingly regarded the offer as an indication of conscious weakness on the part of his conqueror, and he, consequently, peremptorily refused to listen to any terms, but such as should be also acceded to by the Emperor Alexander, and which should have a general peace for their object. The Czar, it should be observed, had just caused *Te Deum* to be sung as for a victory, and was too much elated with the prospect of military glory to be desirous of peace. Finding, therefore, that it was impossible to bring the campaign to a close without further bloodshed, Napoleon determined on retiring upon the Vistula, in order to recruit his forces, and adopt measures for prosecuting the war with increased vigour when he should again take the field. Before breaking up his head-quarters, however, he published an ordinance, that the cannon taken in the last battle should be used to construct a statue of General d'Hautpoul, who had met his death

in the engagement, while leading his brave cuirassiers to a desperate charge.

Eylau was abandoned on the 16th of February; and, on the same day, an action took place at Ostrolenka, between a body of twenty-five thousand Russians under General Essen, and the fifth corps of the French army commanded by Savary, who was supported by Oudinot,

SIEGE OF DANTZIC.

Suchet, and Gazan; in which, after much hard fighting, the French were finally victorious. A son of the celebrated Suwarrow was killed in this engagement. The Emperor expressed the highest satisfaction at the conduct of Savary, whose previous military reputation had never stood very high. Several subsequent actions of more or less importance in themselves, but of little consequence to the issue of the war, were fought during the succeeding month; and on the 25th of April, Napoleon fixed his head-quarters at Finkenstein, and the greater portion of his army again went into cantonments.

The operations of the Emperor henceforth exhibited more caution, and an impression of greater difficulty and danger than at almost any previous period of his history. He began to think that his advance into Poland had been premature, while Dantzic, a city whence many dangerous movements might be made in his rear, remained in the hands of the enemy. The siege of that fortress was, accordingly, ordered to be forthwith undertaken; and, in the meantime, the Grand Army was augmented by every practicable expedient. The siege of Colberg was raised; and the troops which had been engaged there, marched to the Vistula, and joined the main body. The greater part of the force which had occupied Silesia was withdrawn from that province; a new levy was ordered to be made in Switzerland; and Prince Eugene was desired to send a corps of auxiliaries from Italy. Large bodies of Poles were raised in every direction; and, to complete his means, the Emperor demanded of the French Senate an additional supply of conscripts, in anticipation of that which, as a matter of routine, would be raised in the year 1808.

The siege of Dantzic was entrusted to Marshal Lefebvre and a corps of about twenty-five thousand men. The defence was directed by the Prussian General Kalkreuth, who had under orders a strong garrison of his countrymen, and several Russian regiments which had been sent by sea to reinforce him. The operations on both sides were long and tedious. Many gallant sorties were made by the besieged, but without effect; and once or twice the French were defeated in attempts to surprise the place. At length, on the 15th of May, General Kaminski, son of the Field Marshal who had been recently superseded, was sent by Alexander to carry succour to the beleaguered city; but Napoleon, having obtained timely intelligence of the

CAPTURE OF DANTZIC.

movement, despatched Lannes and Oudinot to intercept the enemy on his landing. A sharp engagement took place, in consequence, at Weischelmunde; when the Russians, being defeated, sought refuge, first within the fortifications of the place, and afterwards, deeming these insecure, on board the ships which had transported them to the coast. The wounded were hurried on board with the utmost precipitation, and the whole armament speedily returned to Königsberg—

the distressed garrison of Dantzic, from the ramparts of that city, beholding the flight of their "Liberators" with the utmost consternation.

The outer works of the fortress having been taken, Lefebvre, on the 21st of May, commanded an assault; but, at the moment when the signal was given, Kalkreuth sent a flag of truce with an offer to capitulate, on conditions, which, being modest and equitable, were instantly granted. Napoleon was highly pleased with the conduct of Marshal Lefebvre in the capture of this important city; and, in addition to a high public eulogium, conferred on him the title of Duke of Dantzic.

At the beginning of June, the Emperor, by almost incredible exertions, in hurrying forward his expected reinforcements, and reuniting the greater part of the force which had been engaged in the siege of Dantzic with his main army, was enabled to take the field at the head of upwards of two hundred thousand men. The Russian army had also been recruited; but, owing to the poverty of the national treasury, the utmost strength that Alexander was enabled to muster did not exceed the half of that of his opponent.

BRIDGE OF SPANDEN.

Russia had men to any number at her command, but the state of her finances rendered it difficult to maintain a large army at a distance from home. Great blame has usually been cast upon the British Government for its unwonted economy at this period. "England," says Mr. Lockhart, "instead of lavishing gold on the Emperor of Russia, as had been done in other similar cases, was with difficulty persuaded to grant him, at this critical time, so small a supply as eighty thousand pounds." Six millions had been applied for; but the manner in which the large subsidy to Austria had been disposed of, after the battle of Austerlitz, not eighteen months before, must be admitted as forming some excuse for the precaution now observed. Alexander, however, was deeply offended with the unexpected parsimony of his wealthy Ally, and henceforward displayed less repugnance to those in his council who had previously ventured to hint that peace was desirable.

The campaign was re-opened on the 5th of June, the Russians commencing hostilities by a vigorous attack on the French troops stationed at the bridge of Spanden. Twelve regiments rushed to the encounter, but were repulsed with considerable slaughter. Seven times they renewed the attempt to clear a passage, and on each occasion were beaten back with loss. After the seventh assault, a

single regiment of the corps of Bernadotte charged briskly across the bridge, and compelled the enemy to make a precipitate retreat. A

HEILSBERG.

like unsuccessful attempt was made, at the same time, to force the bridge of Lomitten. On the 7th, the Russian Imperial Guard, supported by three other divisions, and commanded by Beningsen in person, with whom was the Grand Duke Constantine, attacked the posts occupied by Ney at Altkirken; when the Marshal, pursuing a line of operations which had been laid down by the Emperor, made a feint of retreating. The enemy pursued as far as Deppen, where the French made a stand, and, after a desperate engagement on the 8th, put Beningsen to flight, with a loss of two thousand killed, and about three thousand wounded. The Cossack Hetman, Platoff, on this occasion saved the Russian army from utter destruction. The skirmishers of the French vanguard, and the soldiers intended to support them, had rushed forward impetuously in pursuit of the retreating columns, when Platoff, wheeling round suddenly, charged with his fierce warriors, and not only dispersed the troops nearest to him, but compelled the infantry to form squares, and rendered it necessary for the whole of the French cavalry to advance to the attack. The Cossacks, however, having obtained their purpose of checking the pursuit, instantly dispersed over the field, and united in front of the battalions, whose retrograde march they had protected.

After much forced marching, and various skirmishes, in which his army sustained great loss, Beningsen reached Heilsberg; where, concentrating all his force, he resolved to await the approach of his pursuers. A desperate engagement was fought here, in which the sturdy Russians maintained their positions, from morning till near midnight, in the face of a foe greatly superior in numbers, and flushed with recent triumph. No victory could be claimed on either side. At dawn, next day, the space between the hostile lines was found to be not merely strewn, but literally covered with dead and wounded. The Russians, without further molestation, continued their retreat; and, crossing the Aller, placed that barrier between themselves and the French army.

On the 13th of June, Beningsen, pursued by Napoleon in person, arrived opposite to Friedland, a large town on the western bank of the Aller, having a long and narrow wooden bridge communicating with the side of the river on which the Russians lay. The Emperor

FRIEDLAND.

saw immediately the advantages which might be obtained, if he could allure the enemy from his position, and induce him to cross the bridge and accept battle. He exerted all his art, therefore, to provoke him to make this false step. The French main body lay concealed in some thick woods behind the town; and the division of Oudinot, which had suffered severely at Heilsberg, was the only force that shewed itself in opposition. Beningsen fell into the snare; and, in order to chastise so impotent an adversary, ordered a few Russian regiments to cross the bridge, and march to the attack. The resistance offered by the French was firm, but not such as to undeceive

Beningsen respecting the force which, with so little precaution, he had ventured to engage. His first division was reinforced by another, and his opponents still maintaining the contest, sometimes retreating, and at others renewing the fight, the Russian General, by degrees, transported his whole army, except a single division, to the western bank of the Aller, where they bivouacked for the night, on a small plain adjoining the town, with the river about a mile in their rear.

FRIEDLAND.

Napoleon was on horseback by three o'clock on the morning of the 14th, and before five had disposed his troops, and got his artillery into position. The Russians commenced the contest soon afterwards, still unconscious that they were opposed to more than the enfeebled corps which had dared, on the previous day, to dispute the field with them. The Emperor when he heard the first report of the enemy's guns exclaimed, with evident satisfaction, "This will be a fortunate day; it is the anniversary of Marengo." The French skirmishers now advanced briskly, and heavy columns of infantry began to shew themselves from the surrounding woods, soon convincing Beningsen, by their numbers and confidence, that he was in the presence of the Grand Army, and was about to encounter Napoleon himself. It was too late, however, to rectify his error. The divisions of Lannes and Mortier were already advancing to the onset. The utmost that could be done to save the Russian army from annihilation was to resume its communication with Wehlau, a town situated on the Pregel. To secure this object, six thousand men were detached from the main body with orders to march to Allerberg, several miles lower down the river, for the purpose of keeping the bridge there, as a means of retreat.

Notwithstanding all disadvantages, however, the Russians, fighting with the most obstinate valour, maintained their ground, though exposed to a heavy cannonade, and to numberless charges of the well-disciplined cavalry and infantry of Napoleon, till about four in the afternoon, when the Emperor put himself at the head of the French line and commanded a general assault, in order, by one of those usually overwhelming efforts, to which he owed the victory in many doubtful engagements, to bring the battle to a close. The attack, with cavalry, infantry, and artillery, was simultaneous at all points. The French rushed forward with shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" The Russians, who appeared to be hemmed in by a semicircle of glittering steel, and were already weakened and dispirited by the loss of more than twelve thousand men in killed and wounded, were unable to sustain the shock, but fled in terror to the town in the rear. Their troops poured like a torrent into the narrow streets of Friedland, impeding and trampling down each other in their haste. The bridge and pontoons were speedily crowded with

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fugitives; and the French, thundering after them, must have destroyed the entire army, but for the courage and presence of mind of the Russian Imperial Guard, which suddenly forming and charging their pursuers with the bayonet created some disorder in their ranks, and thus snatched sufficient time to re-establish order. The first division which passed the river, however, set fire to the bridge and pontoons to prevent the French from obtaining possession of them: thereby increasing the horror and confusion of the scene, and the difficulty of escape for their comrades. At this critical moment, a ford was discovered at a little distance from the town, and afforded a means of retreat to a great portion of the army, while the rest fled by a circuitous route on the right of Friedland, and passed the stream by another ford, also discovered in the moment of extremity, and which, being deep and dangerous, destroyed all the ammunition in the tumbrils, and drowned a great number of soldiers. The Russians lost fifteen thousand men in killed, and a great number of wounded, including thirty general officers, together with seventeen cannons and many standards, in this action. The greater portion of their baggage was saved; and as Napoleon, from motives of policy, took no immediate steps to improve his victory, Beningsen was enabled to rally his broken forces on the eastern bank of the Aller, and pursue his disastrous flight towards the frontier of his own country, unmolested. The French Emperor, in writing to Josephine after the battle, said, "My children have once more shed a lustre over my career. The victory of Friedland will be inscribed in history beside those of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena."

The importance attached by the enemy to this victory was speedily evinced. The King of Prussia forthwith evacuated Königsberg; being convinced that his Russian Allies could no longer maintain the war in Poland, and that the ancient capital of his country was thenceforward no place of security. Soult accordingly took possession of the city on the 16th of June, and found immense stores of grain, munitions of all kinds, including a hundred and sixty thousand muskets, recently received from England, and more than twenty thousand wounded soldiers in the hospitals. Beningsen, meanwhile, found it necessary to continue his retreat on the Niémen; and the Emperor Alexander, being without the means of reinforcing his army, uncertain as to the arrival of the

NEGOCIATIONS.

promised assistance from England, at war with Turkey, and alarmed by reports of the intended reorganization of Poland as a nation, became anxious for peace. Napoleon also, having been longer absent from his capital than he had contemplated, and probably feeling that it would be dangerous to follow such determined foes, as the Russian troops had proved themselves, into their own territories, earnestly desired the termination of hostilities; and by many acts of generosity towards such of the enemy as fell into his power, and by abstaining from increasing their distresses under defeat, had not only kept open a door to reconciliation, but excited the Czar's admiration and gratitude.

On the 19th, Napoleon advanced his head-quarters to Tilsit, where, on the 21st, he received a message from Alexander desiring an armistice, which was immediately conceded, and accompanied with the offer of a personal interview to treat for a definitive peace. The Russian Emperor, himself ambitious of the title of a hero, felt flattered that he, whom Sir Walter Scott calls the "Destined Victor," should still, notwithstanding his manifest superiority in genius and power, be willing to confer with a humbled opponent as an equal, on matters which seemed to involve the fate of the world. A meeting was, accordingly, appointed to take place in a pavilion constructed upon a raft moored in the middle of the Niémen, on the 25th. In the interim, namely, on the 22nd, Napoleon published the following address to his army: "Soldiers! On the 5th of June we were attacked by the Russian army in our cantonments. The enemy was mistaken as to the causes of our inactivity, and perceived not till too late that our repose was that of the lion. Summoned from the banks of the Vistula, we have reached the waters of the Niémen with the rapidity of the eagle. You celebrated at Austerlitz the anniversary of the Coronation; you have this year celebrated that of Marengo, which put an end to the second Coalition.

"Frenchmen! Your deeds have been worthy of both you and me. You will return to France covered with laurels, after having obtained a glorious and durable peace."

On the 25th of June, at one in the afternoon, the two Emperors embarked at the same instant from the opposite sides of the Niémen, to hold the appointed conference. The banks of the river were

IMPERIAL INTERVIEW.

crowded with spectators. Napoleon was accompanied by Murat, Berthier, Bessières, Duroc, and Caulaincourt; Alexander by his brother the Grand Duke Constantine, Generals Beningsen and Ouvaroff, Prince Lebanoff, and the Count de Lieven. The two boats arriving at the raft at the same time, the Emperors disembarked, and embracing each other with an appearance of the utmost cordiality, amid the loud acclamations of their respective armies, entered together the pavilion, where they conversed in private for two hours. The officers in attendance, who had remained without during the interview, were then introduced, and the best understanding seemed to be established between the two monarchs, who parted, as they had met, with an embrace, and each retired to his camp.

The next day a second interview took place in the pavilion, at which the King of Prussia was present. He exhibited considerable emotion on being introduced to the conqueror of his dominions, on whose generosity his future fortunes depended. Napoleon himself seemed affected by his dejection, and treated him with greater courtesy and kindness than had been hoped for. It was agreed, at this meeting, that Tilsit should be immediately neutralized, and negotiations there entered upon for a peace. The three Sovereigns, accordingly, fixed their courts in that town, and during their residence lived on such terms of amity with each other,—an example which

RESIDENCE AT TILSIT.

was followed by the officers and soldiers of their several armies,—“that,” says Sir Walter Scott, “it was difficult to conceive that men so courteous and amiable had been for many months drenching trampled snows and muddy wastes with each other’s blood.” The intercourse of the Emperors assumed by degrees the character of brotherly intimacy. Their mornings were passed in reviews, or in unattended rides; their evenings were devoted to fêtes and entertainments of every kind, in which each sought to rival the other in affording the highest gratification to his guest. The King of Prussia was treated with more reserve than his Ally, and soon discovered that all his expectations depended upon the influence of Alexander and the clemency of the French Monarch. Napoleon, when at St. Helena, attributed his coolness at Tilsit towards Frederick William, to that Prince’s want of tact and talent. According to his account, when the three Sovereigns rode out together, Napoleon was constantly between the other two, and the Prussian King seldom failed to jostle or incommode him, or to fall in the rear. On their return to the town, the Emperors dismounted in an instant, and took each other by the hand to ascend the stairs; but the honours being invariably performed by Napoleon, who alone had a household establishment in attendance, and kept a regular table, he was under the necessity of waiting till the King had passed, which on two or three occasions, was for a considerable time, and as it happened to be rainy weather, the Emperors sometimes got wet in consequence. Alexander was greatly annoyed at the abstraction and awkwardness of his Ally; and suggested to Napoleon that, after dining together, it would be advisable in order to be rid of their companion to separate, on pretence of urgent business, and resume their meeting in another apartment; which, being adopted, they sometimes continued in conversation till past midnight. The terms of future peace and alliance, in the meantime, were discussed and settled with a rapidity which was entirely new in diplomatic negotiations.

The young and beautiful Queen of Prussia arrived at Tilsit, at noon on the 6th of July, and, about two hours afterwards, Napoleon paid her a visit. She received him with an air of injured dignity, and claimed justice at his hands. “Prussia,” she exclaimed, “was

QUEEN OF PRUSSIA.

ignorant in respect to her power. Relying on the glory she had derived from the great Frederick, and deeming his success her inheritance, she had ventured to contend with a hero; and, instead of cultivating his auspicious friendship, to oppose herself to the destinies of France. She has been punished with ruin." The beauty, fascinating manners, wit, and adroitness of this Princess were such, that, as Napoleon afterwards admitted, had she been present at the commencement of the negotiations, she might have exercised considerable influence on the result; but the general terms being now arranged, the Emperor was determined to bring the treaty to a close without delay.

The Queen and her husband accepted Napoleon's invitation to dinner; and while leading her to a seat the host informed his fair guest that he restored to her Silesia, a province for which she had earnestly solicited at their previous interview. Seated between the two Emperors, the Queen exerted all her talents to extort promises

TREATY OF TILSIT.

of favour, and with such effect, that Napoleon was compelled to keep a strict guard over his words, and thus avoid making explicitly, or by implication, any engagement, or uttering what might be construed into an unintended concession—a species of constraint which required the utmost vigilance, and, being new to the Emperor, more than once drove him almost to extremity. The importunities which he then encountered, however, were the means of accelerating the conclusion of the treaty; for in the evening, when the Queen had retired, orders were sent to Talleyrand and Prince Kourakin to bring the negotiations to a close forthwith. “A woman and a piece of gallantry,” observed Napoleon, “ought not to be permitted to interfere with arrangements conceived for the welfare of nations.”

The Treaty was accordingly signed on the 8th, and peace proclaimed on the same day. By this compact, the entire territories of ancient Prussia were restored to Frederick William, together with the French conquests in Upper Saxony and the province of Silesia. The portion of Poland which had been annexed to Prussia, at the time of the partition of that kingdom in 1772, with the exception of the province of Bialystock, which was added to the Russian dominions to complete the line of frontier of that empire, was erected into a separate principality, under the designation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and conferred on Augustus, a descendant of the Kings of Poland, whose title of Elector was changed for that of King of Saxony. The means of free communication between Dresden and Warsaw were stipulated for, in the reservation to Augustus of a right to construct a grand military road across Silesia. Dantzic was declared to be a free city, and placed under the protection of the Kings of Prussia and Saxony; but it was to be provisionally garrisoned, till the ratification of a maritime peace, by French soldiers. The provinces of Prussia in Franconia and Lower Saxony, united with Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Westphalia, and Brunswick, were formed into a kingdom, entitled that of Westphalia, which was conferred on Jerome Bonaparte; who, in order to appease the anger of his brother, which had been incurred by his marriage with Miss Patterson, an American lady, had recently obtained a divorce, and, on consenting to an alliance with a daughter of the King of Wurtemberg, had been again admitted to Imperial favour. Russia ceded the domain of Jever to Holland, in return for

TREATY OF TILSIT.

the Polish province of Bialystock. The rights of the Kings of Wurtemberg and Saxony, together with those of Joseph Bonaparte to the crown of Naples, Louis of Holland, and Jerome of Westphalia, were fully recognised and guaranteed. Napoleon himself was acknowledged as Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine; his assumption of which title had been one of the chief causes of the war. A Constitution was assigned to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, by which slavery was abolished, and the equality of legal rights among all classes of citizens was established. The executive power was vested in the Grand Duke, and the legislative functions in a Senate and Chamber of Deputies. The "Continental System," as the British blockade was called, was imposed upon Prussia, and adopted by the newly-created Kings. Russia, by an unpublished article, accepted the mediation of France for peace with Turkey, and France that of Russia with England; and, in case of non-acceptance by the last-named power of the terms agreed to be proposed, the Emperor Alexander bound himself to recognise and enforce the Continental System throughout his vast dominions; and to engage the Northern Courts in a new coalition, for the purpose of destroying the English maritime superiority. It has been said, but upon no good authority, that there were other secret articles in the treaty; by which, on condition that Napoleon should permit to Russia the conquest of European Turkey and of the Swedish province of Finland, which Alexander deemed necessary to the security of his capital, the Czar pledged himself not to interfere with Napoleon in the seizure and appropriation of Spain, Portugal, and Great Britain!

The Queen of Prussia was prepared to renew her solicitations to Napoleon, when she heard, with surprise and indignation, that the treaty was signed. She wept much, and complained that Napoleon had cruelly deceived her; but Alexander assured her that, by entertaining false hopes, she had deceived herself. "You should have been present at the commencement of the negotiations," he added, "or not have come at all." The Princess felt so deeply mortified at the little influence which she had been able to exercise, in modifying the humiliating terms to which her husband was subjected, that her grief is supposed to have hastened her death, which happened shortly afterwards.

CLOSE OF THE CONGRESS.

Before quitting Tilsit, the soldier reputed to be the bravest among the Russian Imperial Guard was presented to Napoleon, and received the golden eagle of the Legion of Honour. At the same time, the

French Emperor was presented with a portrait of the brave Cossack Hetman, Platoff. On the 9th of July, at eleven in the forenoon, Napoleon, decorated with the ribbon of the first class of the Russian order of St. Andrew, with which he had been honoured by Alexander, went to take leave of his new Ally, to whom he presented the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. The two Emperors continued in conversation for about three hours, when they mounted their horses, and proceeded, at the head of the Russian Guard, to the banks of the Niémen, where the Czar embarked to return to St. Petersburg; Napoleon, in token of amity, remaining on the river's brink till the Autocrat had gained the opposite side. On the same day, the King and Queen of Prussia departed for Berlin, and Napoleon himself for Königsberg. Thence he set out, on the 13th of July, for Dresden; where he arrived on the 17th, accompanied by the King of Saxony, who had gone as far as Bautzen, on the frontier of his dominions, to welcome him. On the 27th, the Emperor, amid the congratulations

PEACE.

of a vast concourse of his subjects, re-entered the palace of St. Cloud, from which he had been absent ten months.

The Peace of Tilsit has been called the culminating point of Napoleon's career: till then, his star had been rising. The waters of the Niémen reflected it in its meridian splendour; and its light, which was beheld from afar, filled surrounding nations with astonishment and awe.

END OF VOLUME I.

